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ON
THE PRESENT CONDITION
OF
UNITED CANADA,

CONTAINING PLANS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ITS
AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND FUTURE PROSPERITY,
WITH STRICTURES ON THE EVENTFUL QUESTION OF
RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, AND THE PRESENT CRISIS
OF THE PROVINCE.

BY HENRY TAYLOR,
Author of the "System of the Creation of our Globe, Planets and Sun,"
"Considerations on the Past, Present and Future Condition of the Canadas," &c. &c.

Montreal:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY LOVELL AND GIBSON.

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P R E F A C E .

HAVING published, a few years since, in this city, a work called, "Considerations on the Past, Present and Future Condition of the Canadas," which work some of the readers of the present may not have seen, and as the plans therein are to be referred to, I here present a brief outline of the contents of it.

The first number contained a plan for introducing the modern system of agriculture through the entire length and breadth of this eastern part of the Province. For this purpose, the hiring of a "terre," or farm in every fifth parish, and the establishment of them, as agricultural school-farms, is recommended, to be placed under the management of persons well acquainted with the modern mode of agriculture. That a certain number of these farms should be put under the inspection of resident gentlemen interested in, and zealous for the advance of the agriculture of the Province, so that by proper economy they should be made to pay nearly their own expenses. By these means, a knowledge of the advantages of the modern system might be made visible to every habitant cultivator in the Province, as the farm rented might be given up every seven years, and others hired in other parishes.

No. 2 of the above work consists, 1st, of a plan proposed for obtaining from the Imperial Parliament the supply of the British West India settlements, by Great Britain and British North America, with flour, bread stuffs, and salt provisions, whenever it shall be proved to the British Government that the Mother Country and the North American Colonies are competent to furnish the full quantity of such supplies as are annually wanted for those islands and settlements. On this subject, we trust to have proved, that the West India planters would prefer this mode of supply, if they were convinced that the Mother Country and the said North American Colonies were competent to supply them.

The 3d number was on the Union of the Canadas. In this I have supported the agricultural and commercial advancement of the Province, and have also given my ideas on the kind of responsibility of the Government, which I believe competent to ensure the well-being of the Province and its permanent connection with the Parent State.

In the present work, it will be my endeavour to prove to the Montreal and Quebec mercantile bodies particularly, and to the mercantile and agricultural community generally, the great advantages that will arise to them from the diffusion of the knowledge and practice of the modern system of agriculture; and also the probability of a fair and remunerating market being found in our West India settlements, if we can obtain the entire supply thereof, with the produce of this Province.

I shall also present some observations on the unexpected and most singular changes that have lately taken place in the Provincial Government. A thorough consideration of the effects of unrestricted responsibility in the Government, will come under review; and a contrast therewith, of that con-

stitutional species of it, which we have supported in No. 3 of our late work.

I shall give also a review of Responsible Government, as intended and given to the United Province by Lord John Russell's Despatch of October 14, 1839.

This work will, therefore, contain my ideas on some of the most important interests of the country at this eventful period,—its agriculture, commerce, and improvements, and its political condition.

If the subject be not one, conveying the entertainment of the novelist or the historian ; if it do not permit of the same literary display, it is one, at least, in which the inhabitants of this young and rising Colony have a much deeper interest. The agriculturist, in all that relates to agriculture and the markets for its products ; the merchants, in the same, as influencing the prosperity of the Province and its commerce ; the general mass of its inhabitants, in the quietude and security of its political condition.

If I am not mistaken, one cause of the popularity of the best economical and political writings is, that we are interested and engaged in the events and objects they relate to. Instead of describing fabulous characters and incidents, nature is painted in her real and living attitudes ; and, from nature alone, we derive our most interesting sensations.

The practised reader may, perhaps, find some inaccuracies in the style of the following pages ; but will probably excuse them when he is assured that literary fame, valuable as it is, was not nearly so much the author's object, as the wish to promote the quiet, prosperity and happiness of the United Province.

The work will be divided into three chapters :

The first, on the bearings of an improved state of agri-

culture in Eastern Canada, on the trade and commerce of the cities of Quebec and Montreal, &c.

The second, on the necessity of seeking to obtain the supply of the markets in our West India settlements, with the agricultural products of United Canada.

The third, on the present political state of the United Province of Canada, containing considerations on the great question of Responsible Government, with a review of Lord John Russell's Despatch of October 14, 1839, shewing that it contains the limits which the constitutional security and the nature of circumstances in this Province require.

PRESENT CONDITION OF UNITED CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

On the bearing of an improved state of Agriculture in Eastern Canada, on the Trade and Commerce of the Cities of Montreal, Quebec, &c.

THE disastrous state of commercial affairs, of which we had heard so much of late years in Great Britain, and in a neighbouring country, has at length reached the commercial cities of Montreal and Quebec.

An unprecedented state and scarcity of the circulating medium, frequent complaints of the difficulty of obtaining discounts at the Banks, and of their partiality in this matter, were the presages of the coming storm. These Banks, however, who had so nobly maintained the stability of their credit, through that long and critical period of trial, which commenced nearly at the beginning of the late disturbances, and about which time, numbers of the Banks in the United States sank, to rise no more.

These Banks of Canada appear, in the present crisis, to have either had some foreknowledge of the coming disasters, or at least to have acted with extreme caution ; they have thereby maintained the solidity of their commercial credit, to be enabled, let us hope, to render important service to the commercial public in future.

A variety of causes seem to have produced this state of commercial distress in these cities. The changes in the duties on timber in Great Britain was the first blow received.

During my residence in London, from 1829 to 1834, after having read the speech of the late Governor General, Lord Sydenham, on the Timber Trade, in the House of Commons, he being at that time President of the Board of Trade, I addressed to him a memorial on the subject of the alteration he proposed in that Trade. His Lordship had stated in his speech, that the favor hitherto bestowed on Canadian timber, cost the people of Great Britain two millions of money per annum.

Having ascertained from some mercantile friends in the city, that if the proposed alterations took place, the timber from the Baltic would certainly be for the most part, imported in foreign vessels, on account of the greater cheapness of freight ; I stated this circumstance to his Lordship, and referred him also to Adam Smith's opinion on the Navigation Act. The exact words I do not remember, but the purport is, that this " famous Act, by the protection " it gives to British shipping, is the great palladium " of British supremacy on the seas, and thereby of her rights and liberties." I added, that for this

paramount reason, the question of mere pecuniary advantage to the people of Great Britain, could form a secondary consideration only. I received a polite note from his Lordship, thanking me for the communication, and that he should be glad to receive any others in future. I do not pretend to say that that communication was the cause, but the fact is certain, that his Lordship did not press the subject of reduction of the duties any more in the House of Commons, whatever may have been his intention in future.

And, notwithstanding, that measure has since been carried, and is now in force ; I am still of the same opinion as to its wisdom in a national point of view. The Colonial system of Great Britain has been the great, perhaps the greatest, cause of her maritime ascendancy, and if she does not maintain that system, it is probable her nurseries of seamen will dwindle away, and her maritime supremacy along with them.

Another cause of the depression of the trade of Montreal, is stated to be the importation of more goods than the market requires. One would reasonably suppose, this excess of importation might have arisen from the great stagnation of the export trade at home. It was to be supposed that every accessible market, and this among the rest, would be filled to excess by our manufacturers or merchants of Great Britain ; and this was the case to a certain extent. I am informed, however, that there have been years when many more goods were sent out here on consignment, than last year, but that the excess of importation has arisen more from people

having realised money during the late disturbances, who have become importers. This excess of importation then, is an evil which can be but temporary, and will cure itself. Competition is said to be the life of trade. The annual wants of the population in young countries, are always increasing ; and there is, perhaps, no young country which has better prospects than this. Large sums of public money are being laid out in the Province, and if we can get the canals finished in a few years, a fresh impetus will be added to both foreign and domestic trade through them.

Another source of loss has been the rapid fall of wheat and flour at home. I have been informed by some shippers of flour, their loss amounts to nigh twenty-five per cent. The loss on the entire quantity shipped home has been a source of great diminution of the capital of this country, and I shall give an estimate of this loss in the next chapter.

Perhaps, among the various causes of the depression of trade in Montreal, none will be found to have operated to a wider extent than the almost total loss of the wheat crops for several years past.

As I have stated in the prospectus to this work, "When the habitant farmer came to the towns, with his crop of perhaps five hundred bushels of wheat, which he sold at five shillings per bushel, he could afford to purchase goods ; now, he is obliged to lay out what he can spare from the present produce of his farm, to buy some portion of wheat for his family. When we consider that there cannot be less than seventy to eighty thousand farms in this eastern part of the Province, the magnitude of the diminu-

tion of trade in Quebec and Montreal, from the above cause, will be evident."

Perhaps the average of all the farms in this part of the Province, might not amount to more than 100 bushels each; but a great many certainly produced 4 to 500. Now 80,000 farms, at 100 bushels only, make 8,000,000 bushels a year of wheat. Accordingly, I have been informed by several respectable merchants in Montreal, that the diminution of trade with the habitant farming population has been very considerable since the destruction of the wheat crops.

"No country that does not grow its own wheat can become rich," said a great promoter of the agriculture of Nova Scotia; and this observation applies with great force to Eastern Canada, whose agriculture in general is in so low and wretched a condition.

It is singular that many of the Canadian rural population are of opinion that there is no remedy for the destructive insect called the wheat fly. "C'est le Bon Dieu qui nous envoie ça," says the Canadian habitant, "il faut l'endurer."—"It is Providence sends it, we must endure it." But, as I have often told them, Providence sends us everything good and evil. We enjoy the good, and God has formed a remedy for almost every evil. Had physicians been restrained by such a consideration from their efforts to discover remedies for diseases,—had the immortal Doctor Jenner, on that account, restricted his impulse to apply the vaccine to human beings, what immensely greater numbers would have perished, whose lives have now been saved to society.

Providence certainly sends us evils; it conceals the remedies, possibly for the very purpose that we may exert our faculties and improve them in the search. Some great evils, it is true, are irremediable by man, such as those occasioned by the elements, by earthquakes and volcanoes; and I beg leave to state an idea that has often occurred to me on this subject. When we read of the numbers of mankind who have perished by these causes, of entire towns and cities destroyed in a few minutes by them, we are at a loss to reconcile these disasters with our usual ideas of the Divine benevolence. Some devout persons, wishing to account for these decrees of Providence, have referred them to inflictions of the Divine wrath for the sins of men. Those inflictions will, no doubt, come at the day of judgment; but an almost irresistible refutation of the above evils arising from that cause is, that not only the good, the virtuous and the young, but even the innocent babes, are alike cut off by these terrible events. We must, therefore, refer them to certain unvarying and unavoidable laws of nature, by which the Deity has been pleased to construct our Globe. And the sufferance of these extensive, and irremediable evils by the Almighty, has often appeared to me to be a strong proof of the reality of a future state. Did not the Deity know that a better world was provided by him to receive the just and the innocent; his benevolence would probably not subject entire communities, consisting sometimes of hundreds of thousands, to these dreadful catastrophes.

Excepting these elementary evils, there are, per-

haps, few that are not remediable by the industry, sagacity or scientific discoveries of man.

By a publication of mine, on Agriculture, in Quebec, many years ago, I endeavoured to impress on the House of Assembly of the (then) Lower Province, the necessity of advancing its Agriculture, by the introduction of the modern system, now generally practised, not only in Great Britain, but also in France and Germany.

Those Houses of Assembly were, however, too much engaged in their controversies with the other branches of the Legislature to devote their attention to what would probably have by this time proved most advantageous to their country.

In order to have a chance of procuring the restoration of the wheat crops of this part of the Province, and of preventing the destructive insect, called the wheat fly, from penetrating into the western part of it, I know of no mode more likely to prove effective than the establishment of these agricultural farms, as stated in our plan for that purpose, an explanation of which is given in the preface to this work. On these farms, experiments of all kinds might be made for this purpose. I have stated in a little work, called "A Tour through the Eastern Townships," a mode used by a lady in Lennoxville, by which she succeeded in preventing the fly from destroying her wheat, of which she actually raised twenty bushels to the acre, while all the farms between that and Montreal had, perhaps, lost on average, one-third of their crops by this insect. I have, in No. 3 of my late work, recommended the trial of liming the soil, as is done in the old country, with great effect.

Lime is a great destroyer of all insects, and I have not a doubt that the general practice of liming there first originated from the prevalence of the insect tribes, when that country was partly covered with woods and swamps as this now is. The wheat fly is certainly known in Great Britain, but has never destroyed the crops for years together as it is doing here.

I here give an extract from Lowden's Encyclopædia, on the wheat fly, page 820, article 5166:—"Mr. Gorrie estimates the loss sustained by the "farming interest in the Carse of Gourrie district "alone, at £20,000 in 1827, at £30,000 in 1828, and at £36,000 in 1829."

Before the appearance of the fly in Canada, nigh 400,000 bushels of wheat, in one year, have been shipped down the Chambly River alone; the cost, 5s. per bushel, £100,000; and the loss to the whole eastern part of the Province cannot be less than four to five million minots a year.

In Mr. Lowden's work, I also observe that a machine has been invented by a Mr. Curtis, of Essex in England, for throwing lime dust on apple trees, infested with caterpillars and other insects. He has used this practice with great success; his orchard, consisting of many thousand fruit trees, and occupying fifty acres, had been for many years completely divested of their foliage and young fruit in the spring months. Although used ever so freely, says Mr. Curtis, no person need fear any injury from the caustic quality of the lime, on the most delicate and fresh expanded foliage. It is only prejudicial to insects of all kinds and to dead vegetable matter."

Mr. Lowden adds, "We know not whether the Lime dust has ever been tried in hop plantations infested by the green fly or plant louse; but it appears to us, equally well adapted to effect a great destruction among these insects."

When last in Quebec, I, at the recommendation of a friend, presented an Essay to the Agricultural Society of that district, on the means of destroying the wheat fly, or of preventing its bad effects on the wheat. I have since been informed that a prize has been awarded me. In the essay, I stated cases of the successful use of lime-dusting the ear of the wheat, and in case this is done properly, that is, when there is sufficient dew, on the ear, and before the fly has deposited its eggs in it I cannot conceive it possible the fly would deposit them among the particles of lime. Nature is so watchful in the preservation of her regenerations that she would I think, prevent by instinct, the fly from so doing. If cases have happened where liming the ear has not succeeded, I ascribe its failure to want of due attention to the above mentioned two circumstances.

Mr. Lowden also gives numerous testimonies of the great advantage of the use of lime in the soils.

It is well known that lime acts, not as a manure itself, but by decomposing and rendering soluble by the rains, every species of organic matter it finds in the soil, thus converting it into food for the crops. It is, I believe, allowed by botanists, that the maggot which the fly deposits in the ear of the wheat, after consuming the same, falls to the ground, into which it burrows for the winter and in the return of spring warmth rises in the fly state. The possibility therefore

exists, that the maggot may be destroyed by the lime, before it makes its metamorphosis in the fly state. Should liming not ultimately destroy the maggot in the soil, still the advantages of its use in Canada would be great. We all know, there is a vast abundance of organic matter in its soils, wanting decomposition. The quantity of weeds all over the country is proverbial; as lime, however, has been proved so effective in destroying other insects, in England, I should hope there was an equal chance of its destroying the maggot of the fly while in the soil, providing a strong charge of lime were used. In England, from two to three hundred bushels per acre are used as manure.

I have heard it said, that in the United States, in order to get rid of this fly, they have sometimes stopped the sowing of wheat. The experiment must be a costly one, to stop the growth of wheat all over a country. In those states, they have not begun the use of lime, till within this very few years, and even yet, the use of it is very limited. And the same observation will apply to them, that applies to Canada, namely, that we should first adopt a better system of agriculture, lime the soils thoroughly in the spring, to have a chance thereby, of destroying the wheat fly maggot in the ground; and in case that should not be effected, to lime the ear of the wheat, as shewn above, to prevent the fly from depositing its egg; for it is to be remembered that this fly deposits its eggs in barley or rye, when it finds no wheat ready for it, so that by the experiment of not sowing wheat in a whole country, we might also lose the barley and rye crops.

Judge Buel, the conductor of the *Cultivator*, in his work called the *Farmer's Companion*, gives a number of testimonies of the great value of the use of lime in all kinds of soils, in proper proportions, according to their nature. These testimonies relate to England, France, Flanders, and America; and he adds his own testimony in the following words: "Lime is delivered to me, at six miles distance, at 18 cents per bushel, at the rate of 40 bushels to the acre, the cost is 7 dollars 20 cents per acre; and I can safely say, from my own experience, on a small farm of middling quality, that two dressings of lime at the above rate, in 8 or 9 years, have more than trebled the products of the land to which it was applied, both in grain and grass. It is to be observed, however, that the system of ploughing only as much ground as could be well manured, was adopted at the same time." When we find a noble country like Canada, blessed with a soil equal generally, to any in the world, a country which formerly produced five to six millions bushels wheat annually; when we see a great part of its population cut off from this staff of life; benevolence alone, appears to me a sufficient motive for attempting the restoration of its wheat agriculture; and I am willing to believe that a majority of the merchants of Quebec and Montreal would wish to see that restoration, and endeavor to promote it, from the same motive.

The commercial motives also, to induce a mercantile body to endeavor to restore the depressed state of these cities, and to place their commerce on a permanent basis, by the restoration of wheat

agriculture, are no less influential than the motive above mentioned. I have been informed, by respectable store keepers of long standing in Montreal, that the sale of goods to the agricultural population of Eastern Canada may have amounted, before the destruction of the wheat crops to three or four times the amount at present sold to them; and since that time, that population has probably, increased nigh 30 per cent. I am well aware that the Canadian rural population have hitherto been much opposed to any change in their mode of agriculture; but, the wheat fly, added to the accumulating bad effects of their mode for more than 200 years, has now almost entirely deprived them of the use of wheat bread, of which they were in the habit of consuming great quantities in their families. Almost that entire population, is now confined to living on barley, oats or buck-wheat, and potatoes, of which they are, I am told, getting tired of the use of. I have no doubt therefore, they would joyfully practise any mode that could be discovered, and clearly proved to them, to be competent to restore their wheat crops.

In regard to calling on the Legislature, to endeavor to stay the evil which has of late years destroyed the wheat crops, I have sometimes been asked what the Legislature had to do with Agriculture? a question which, I think, clearly proves, those who asked it could have either very little knowledge of this country, or have not duly reflected on the nature of its agriculture. In the old country, agriculture is pursued by some of the wealthiest and most intelligent of its popula-

tion: agricultural societies abound in every district. The farmers are also in general intelligent and well instructed in agriculture; and a zeal for it is excited by the influential practice of the first gentry of the land; agricultural publications containing the new discoveries in that science are diffused through the country, and serve to keep alive this zeal and emulation.

In that case, there is no necessity for government to interfere in agricultural concerns, because there is intelligence and zeal, and means enough to render it unnecessary. In this country almost the entire reverse of all this is the case. It is true, that the Provincial Legislature occasionally has granted small sums to a few agricultural societies; but of what avail have these societies been to stay or prevent the destructive ravages of the wheat fly? It is possible some of them may have instituted experiments for that purpose, but it is clear, they have been of little or no avail.

In the meantime, the staff of life has been cut off from half the province, and the fly is most assuredly travelling westward every year, to destroy the other half. In my journey to Kingston last year to offer my publications for sale, the Hon. Mr. Sullivan purchasing a copy, I had the opportunity of a conversation with him on the subject of the wheat fly. Having told him that the fly generally deposited its eggs in the ear of the wheat about the middle of July; he observed that in that case, there could be no danger of the wheat in that part of the Province, because their wheat was nearly ready to cut and house at that

time ; but he allowed that many of its farmers had got into the practice of sowing spring wheat, which would, of course, be exposed to danger.

On my return, however, I found the fly had actually reached Brockville, and destroyed a considerable part of some of the crops of *fall wheat there*, and learnt also, it had done the same, to fall wheat crops on the American side of the river opposite Brockville.

What then is to be done in this singular and eventful situation ? The one half the Province is devastated ; its farmers are paralyzed with the idea that it is a visitation of Providence, and not to be remedied. If the fly penetrate through all the Province, will not the same cause produce the same effect as it has done here ; and if so, how will the farmers of the upper part of it be able to pay their debts or purchase goods from the merchants ? The agricultural population is generally busy with their own daily occupations and seldom think of impending, or perhaps remote evils. Is it not then an incumbent duty of the House of Assembly, which may be supposed to consist of some of the most intelligent men of the land, is it not the paramount duty of the representatives of the people to enquire into these evils and institute, promote and encourage effectual measures for their prevention if they can be found ?

Now in order to find out such effective measures I know no method more likely than the establishment of the agricultural school farms, through the eastern part of the Province. It is clear, that in case of any discoveries being made

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on these farms of destroying the fly, it would be necessary, that in order to produce their effect they must be put in practice generally, throughout the country; for, as an intelligent farmer in the Eastern Townships observed to me; "suppose I should find out some way of destroying the flies on my own farm, how should I be protected from those of my neighbor's farms?" This shews the necessity of the Legislature endeavoring to establish generally an improved system of agriculture, which, it shall be the interest of every habitant farmer in the country to practise.

And we should find ourselves, by thus improving our agriculture, something in the same situation that the sons of the old farmer did, by the sagacious artifice he practised to induce them to cultivate their farm thoroughly. He told them at his death, that he had buried a treasure in some part of the farm, and that they would find it by well ploughing and cross ploughing it. This they did repeatedly; they found no treasure, but the soil produced more richly and thus rewarded their labors; so would it be with us under better agriculture, though we should not be able to destroy or prevent the wheat fly.

To render, however, an application to the Legislature for the above end, effective, would require possibly, powerful influence; I myself believe the establishment of the improved system of agriculture, would be of as much service to the country as the establishment of registries for sales of land or any other improvement that could be made in the feudal tenure, but the application to Parlia-

ment should be supported by those interested. The impulse of benevolence which would induce, us to seek the means of restoring the use of whe bread to a very large population ; the commercial interests therein of the communities of Quebec and Montreal, I trust will be generally allowed ; and there is another argument of considerable commercial weight which I wish to state. In my next Chapter. "On the necessity of seeking to obtain the supply of the markets in our West India settlements for the agricultural products of United Canada," I trust to prove that necessity to the merchants of this Province, and to enable us with more certainty to obtain this boon from the Imperial Government, nothing perhaps would be more effectual, than the known fact that our agriculture was being put in a state of successful advancement.

Besides the supply of this city, and the population of this eastern part of the Province with imported goods ; the city of Montreal has no doubt, derived a considerable part of her commerce from the supply of Upper Canada. At the first settlement of that country, all its stores were probably supplied from Montreal or Quebec.—But as its population has increased, so have importers of goods in its principal towns. These importers in Upper Canada, besides the great facility that will now be afforded them by canal navigation, have several advantages over the Montreal importer. They have their customers directly under their eyes, and can become more acquainted with their characters for industry and means of

payment, and are more conveniently situated for obtaining it.

It is probable therefore, that as capital increases in Western Canada, its supply from this part of it will diminish. And this appears to me a sound reason why the merchants of Montreal should seek to lay the foundation of a valuable and permanent trade, derivable from the advancement of the agriculture of their own part of the Province.

A principal object therefore, which I have in view in now addressing them is to say, that having stated the plan in No. 1 of my late work for the introduction of the modern system of agriculture through the Province; and having had conversations last winter when in Kingston, with several members of the Government and of the House of Assembly, I was recommended by them to present the plan to that House. I have explained the nature of this plan in the preface of this work and such arguments as suggested themselves in its support are stated in this chapter; it will be for the merchants of Montreal to determine as to the support they will give to my representation to the Legislature of the present ruinous state of the wheat agriculture of the Province. I trust I have proved by the facts and arguments stated in this chapter, that it is for the interests of the merchants to seek for some remedy for this great evil. There is no other way they can proceed in so doing, but by stating by memorial to the House of Representatives of the Province the magnitude of this evil, the danger of its diffusion over the whole United Province probably to the total ruin of its

wheat agriculture, and praying them to institute such enquiries and to adopt such remedy as the nature of the case will allow of. It is not possible to conceive, such a memorial would not have the desired effect; and as I have said above, several members of the present Government and of the House of Assembly, with whom I conversed when in Kingston, were of the same opinion.

The representatives of this part of the Province must be aware that the majority of that population have not sufficient agricultural knowledge to enable them to devise the means of removing this evil. To be successful, the means to be taken must be general through the Province and this can best be done by wise and salutary institutions of the representatives of the people. A gentleman of the present Government, who has himself practised agriculture in Western Canada, told me he was convinced that nothing would successfully extirpate the fly, but a better system of agriculture generally diffused through the country.

I perfectly agree with him, that this ought to be the first step to seek the removal of the evil. This I conceive, can only be done by instituting agricultural school farms in any number of parishes that may be thought proper, and I am ready to present to the House the plan mentioned in the preface for that purpose.

CHAPTER II.

On the necessity of seeking to obtain the supply of the markets in our West India settlements with the agricultural produce of United Canada.

The 4th chapter of No. 2 of my work, called Considerations on the past, present, and future condition of the Canadas, was "On the expediency of an application being made to the Home Government, or to the Imperial Parliament for the exclusive supply of the British West India Islands and Settlements, (to be granted to Great Britain, and to British North America,) of wheat, flour, bread stuffs, &c. and all salt provisions, whenever it shall be made evident to the British Government, that the Mother Country and the said North American Colonies are competent to furnish the full quantity of such supplies as are annually wanted for those West India Islands and Settlements."

In that chapter, I think I have shewn that the trade in provisions to the West Indies is merely a trade of supply of their annual consumption, and that it does not therefore come under the question of free trade; and that, provided the parent state and the British North American Colonies can prove themselves competent to furnish the required supplies, it must be a matter of indiffer-

ence to the West India planters, whether they are furnished with them, by foreign nations or, by our own, and that in fact, they would prefer, being supplied by the North American Colonies because these would take produce in payment whereas the Americans, require cash or bills. In this chapter, I trust also to have proved :

1st. That it is perfectly fair and natural, that the Parent State and the British North American Provinces, should have the privilege of the exclusive supply of our own West India Islands, *when* they can be proved competent to furnish those supplies without detriment to the West India interests.

2d. That the West Indians should and would prefer that mode of supply on those conditions.

3d. That Great Britain is interested, both in a commercial and political point of view, in passing the prospective act of parliament, stated and advocated in this chapter, as well calculated to produce nurseries of her seamen, and also of preventing them from resorting to foreign nations.

4th. That foreign nations can have no fair nor reasonable right to complain of Great Britain, for giving to her own Colonies the preference, whenever she conceives it proper and politic so to do ; and we shall conclude this head, with observing, that as there will probably be some interval of time between the passing of this prospective act of parliament, and its going into actual operation, it will render the act more convenient to those foreign nations, by giving them time to place the capitals they had embarked in our West India trade, into other channels.

It is well known that frequent and considerable losses have occurred on the shipments of wheat from this Province to Great Britain in times past. The great decline in manufactures and trade there, which, I conceive, originated in the first instance, from the repeal of the laws against the exportation of machinery, by which the nations of the continent of Europe have been enabled to manufacture for themselves, and the consequent diminution in the quantity of manufactures exported from Great Britain, have at length, produced those dreadful scenes of distress among the manufacturing population, of which we have heard so much of late years. Hence the continued clamor against the Corn Laws, which last year brought on a diminution of the duty on foreign corn, of nine fifty per cent. By the consequent fall in prices, numerous and great failures have occurred there.

From Quebec and this city, two hundred and sixty-seven thousand five hundred and sixty-seven barrels flour were exported to Great Britain last year, and one hundred and ninety-five thousand six hundred and sixty-one bushels of wheat. From the best information I can collect, I estimate the average loss on the flour at seven shilling and sixpence per barrel making £100,337 12 6 and on the wheat 1s. per bushel making £9,783, being a loss on both wheat and flour of £110,130 12 6.

I must however add that a principal merchant of this city estimates the loss at 10s. per barrel, and an extensive dealer in flour considers the loss on the wheat and flour equal to £250,000. The duties on foreign grain, having been thus once

reduced by act of parliament, there appears no probability the scale will be again raised. Notwithstanding the great reduction in those duties, the clamour against the very existence of the Corn Laws is still continued in great force. The great continental markets of Europe for British manufactures, (considering the footing their own have now obtained), appear to be permanently gone from Great Britain. The agricultural population of Great Britain forms nigh one half of the whole population; the total abrogation of the Corn Laws will therefore, probably never be conceded by parliament; but the encouragement now given to foreign nations to grow corn and grain for Great Britain is probably sufficient to keep down the prices of it too low to offer any better prospects to the Canadian farmer and merchant than at present exists; at least in the present time of general peace, or unless bad crops should occur in Europe.

In the meantime, there is a market in our own Colonies which, (and it is very remarkable), requires for its annual supply nearly the exact quantity of flour which was exported to Great Britain last year with such ruinous loss.

Bryan Edwards, in his history of the British West Indies, says, the annual consumption of flour and bread stuffs is a quantity equal to 1,200,000 bushels of wheat which is equal to 240,000 barrels of flour. Since Edwards wrote, the emancipation of the slaves has taken place, which has probably, greatly increased the consumption of flour, as labor is now well paid there. The surplus pro-

duce of Western Canada is, I have no doubt, equal to between four and five hundred thousand barrels of flour. Supposing that 200,000 barrels of the quantity shipped to Great Britain last year to be Upper Canada, and the quantity of wheat 195,661 bushels which is equal to nigh, 40,000 barrels of flour would leave a balance of 210,000 barrels which is disposed of in Eastern Canada, in various parts of British North America, and probably some in the West India Islands.

The price of flour in these Islands, which are supplied from the United States by small cargoes shipped from time to time must generally pay the costs of its importation. When a colonial or foreign vessel finds an Island supplied, (which is discovered by the selling price), it sails for another Island or Settlement, and the number of cargoes sent out, is generally regulated by the accounts the owners receive of prices in the Islands which they can get at short intervals of time.

Thus, as I have stated in my prospectus to this work, it would appear, that "while the merchants of this British Province have been shipping their flour home to meet ruinous prices, foreign nations are supplying our own West India Colonies at such as are (probably) remunerating."

Free trade I am well aware, as a general question, has of late years been much advocated in several publications of much celebrity.

But in his defence of the Navigation Act, Adam Smith says "Protection, (meaning protection by naval superiority,) is of more importance to a nation than commerce.:"

It is well known that numbers of our seamen resort to the United States to seek employment, which they probably would not do, if they could obtain it in the British Colonies, and which the exclusive trade of supply of our West India Colonies would give them; and also preserve a nursery of our seamen.

How much soever free trade may be advocated in the general, we still find each class of people in business in Great Britain seeking to obtain protection for their particular branch; and supporting their claims by the best arguments and documents they can; and the duty of mercantile bodies is clearly, to take their own interests for their guide in this matter; it is for government to determine whether those interests can be reconciled with the general welfare.

The general trade in provisions for the West Indies is however, not a question exactly, of free trade. Free trade to any port is, when the merchants of that port are in the habit, not only of receiving goods from all nations, but also of exporting them or part thereof, when the supply exceeds the demand. The general trade in provisions to the West Indies is, therefore, merely a trade of supply of their plantations. The planter in the West Indies does not go there for the purpose of trade, but to cultivate his estates, and to receive or purchase the quantity of supplies they annually require.

The present rate of duties on foreign corn, will no doubt encourage foreign nations to grow wheat for the British market, and this, with the intended

exertions of the British farmers to increase the production of their soils, seem to preclude all expectations of remunerating prices for Canada wheat and flour, even though the duty were all taken off, in Great Britain.

It is not possible therefore to conceive, that if this subject be fully and fairly stated to the British Government or to the Imperial Parliament, that it will not be productive of redress. If we are to be precluded by existing circumstances, by the alterations in the English Corn Laws from shipping our wheat or flour home to Great Britain, is it to be endured that the markets in our own settlements are to be shut against us by foreign nations, when we can prove our competence to supply those markets with every barrel of flour they want? We have proved this competence by our shipments home last year, as I have shewn above. The Americans and other foreign nations can do no more than furnish those Islands with the required annual supply, because the planters and dealers in the West Indies will buy no more than they annually consume, as flour will not keep sweet there. The West India interests, it is clear, therefore, will not be deteriorated by this transfer of the trade of supply from foreign nations to the Mother Country and the British North American Colonies.

The markets there will regulate themselves as they do every where else, by the known laws of supply and demand, and if the supply be only equal to the demand, the prices for the reasons I have mentioned, will generally be equal also.

In this case, therefore it would appear that on every principle of justice, and of a due regard to the welfare of the British North American Colonies, the Government of Great Britain should give the preference to her own subjects in Great Britain and in these North American Colonies over those of foreign nations. Her own interests as a nation, are also concerned in this business, in the protection and nursery of her seamen, which this colonial trade of supply would afford to her.

I have heard it said, that the merchants of Canada are under a sort of necessity of shipping home the flour of the country as a remittance for British goods imported into it, and that they of course can only give a price for it, according to the ruling prices in Great Britain. But if the price of wheat is brought down by this means, it may happen that the farmer of Western Canada will not have the means of buying those imported British goods, and will have to be contented with clothing of their own manufacture, and in fact, a much greater evil may be the consequence of a continued low price of wheat. The farmers in Western Canada have generally held the opinion that less than 5s. per bushel would not pay for raising wheat. That opinion I have found very general in my residence there for several years.

If, therefore, they find the advantages of farming in Canada are much diminished, by those low prices, many of them may determine on migrating to the great wheat growing countries in the Western States, where the facilities for farming are certainly advantageous, where the winters allow of

their cattle feeding outside, whereas in Canada they must be housed four or five months; and where the soil, though it may not be more fertile than in Canada, is at least equally so. Accordingly it was the opinion of the late Lord Sydenham, as expressed in one of his dispatches home, that the ties on the Upper Canadian farmer to remain in this country, were slender, and that it would require no great diminution of the advantages enjoyed by him in this Province, to sever them entirely.

In case then, this reduction in the price of wheat continues, and this depopulation of the Province should proceed to any extent, where would our importers find purchasers for their goods, and what is of still higher importance, where would be the natural defenders of our country? For these reasons, it appears clear to me, that as we have an annual market in our own West India Colonies, requiring almost the quantity we now ship home at a great loss, while the West Indies will probably afford remunerating prices, we ought to present a statement of our claims to that market, either to the Imperial Government direct, or to *them* through the channel of the Provincial Legislature; provided, it shall, on a due consideration of this important branch of trade, determine to memorial the British Government on the subject.

I have heard it observed, that the freight from Montreal to the West Indies being greater than from the ports in the United States, would prevent us supplying the Islands as cheap as those States could with flour. But if our shippers of flour to

Great Britain will be obliged to give a smaller price to our farmers, in consequence of the fall of prices there, shippers of flour to the West Indies, may with equal reason, give a less price also to compensate for those greater freights; and it is probable they might afford to give the farmers a higher price than the shippers to Great Britain.

As I have stated above, the markets in the British West Indies require an annual supply of nigh 250,000 barrels of flour or bread stuffs. That was the consumption before the emancipation of the slaves, but these now get high prices for their labour, and a change is taking place in their mode of living, as they can now afford to buy flour, and it is probable the consumption in the Islands is much increased on this account.

Perhaps no country in America, when the canals now progressing are finished, will be better able than Canada to make up assorted cargoes of provisions suitable for those markets.—Flour, beef, pork, tongues, hams, &c. are in abundance. Biscuit may be baked in any quantity with no great capital, and an assorted portion of dry and pickled fish can be taken in at Quebec, Gaspé, Halifax, or any other ports in Nova Scotia. Two, if not three voyages, may be made from Quebec or Montreal in the Spring, Summer and Fall months, and a Depot of Canadian produce may be formed in any of the ports in Nova Scotia or Cape Breton; from which it can be shipped to the West Indies during all the winter months, in the vessels owned here.

With respect to the return cargoes in Canadian

vessels sailing direct from Canada during the spring, summer and fall months, it is possible, that should this trade of supply of the West Indies be gone into any great extent, the markets of Canada alone, might not be sufficient to offer a vent for the return cargoes, but the markets of every other port in British North America are open for them. It may also happen that some outward cargoes may be disposed of in the West Indies for cash or bills, which is a frequent mode of payment to the Americans selling there, or they may be shipped in produce home when the price will answer there.

I have, however, to observe on this trade to the West Indies, that I wish it to be well understood by the mercantile community, that it is not under the present regulation of it, that I am advocating its prosecution. It is only on the proviso, that we can, by proper representation to the British Government, obtain the *exclusive supply* of the British West India settlements, that I believe that trade of supply, can be advantageously entered into. The British Government has an undoubted right to the exclusive supply of her West India Colonies, when it finds that Great Britain and her North American Colonies are competent to supply them.

That Government ought also to consider that the navigation and colonial system has been the great cause of the present maritime supremacy of Great Britain. It ought to consider, that it has greatly diminished the restrictions of that system by the late concessions to a foreign nation in re-

gard to our timber trade; and it ought further to consider, that by thus diminishing those restrictions, it (the Government of Great Britain) is not only diminishing the nurseries of its own seamen, but is encouraging those of foreign nations.

I have now stated my humble ideas on the necessity of seeking to obtain the right of exclusive supply of the markets of our West India settlements. I submit the same to the consideration and judgment of the merchants of the United Province. On the conditions stated in the foregoing pages, I conceive they have a fair right to those markets, which must have become much more extensive for flour, biscuit, and salt provisions, than before the emancipation of the negroes. Should the mercantile body consider it for their interest, to seek the obtaining the supply of them, there appears to me, to be two ways to make the application for that purpose; first to the British Government direct, by memorial from the mercantile body itself; or secondly, by bringing the subject before the Provincial Legislature, with a view of obtaining from it, an address to the British Government on this important subject.

When our canals are completed, the people of Upper Canada will be enabled to build and load vessels of a proper burthen to suit the West India trade of supply. They will naturally seek to obtain the best markets they can for their produce, and if the West India should be found to *be the best*, it will be equally the interest of Upper Canada to obtain the boon of the exclusive supply of those West India settlements, as it will be that of the merchants of Quebec, Montreal, &c.

The great reduction on the duties on foreign wheat, made by the late change in the Corn Laws of Great Britain, is highly favorable to our claim for this boon. If the growers of wheat in Upper Canada, can no longer ship their wheat and flour home at a saving price, on account of that reduction of duty; if we have a market in our West India Colonies for nearly the same number of barrels of flour that were shipped home from Canada last year, it is evident, if that flour had been shipped to the West Indies, those islands would have been supplied as cheap as if by American vessels, probably with less loss than has arisen from shipping it home.

I trust I have proved in the foregoing pages that the trade to the West Indies is merely a trade of supply, therefore as it must be a matter of indifference to the West India planters interest, by whom that supply is furnished, so I conceive that all objections on the score of free trade are thereby obviated.

And as before stated, I consider it the duty of all mercantile bodies, as merchants to take their own interest for their guide, in seeking to obtain extension of privileges of trade, on which subject I am confirmed by Adam Smith's opinion. He says in some part of his great work to this effect. "When merchants regulate their commercial undertakings with a view to serve the public, the period of visionary speculation is near." Let the Government of the country determine, how far mercantile interests can be reconciled with national advantage, and I trust to have shewn in this instance, the great national ad-

vantage that would arise, in extending the navigation of these North American Colonies, by cherishing a nursery for our own seamen, instead of, (as we are now doing) cherishing those of foreign nations.

Since writing this chapter, accounts have arrived here, which render it very probable that Canadian wheat and flour will be landed free of duty in Great Britain, also that flour made in Canada from American wheat will pay only a nominal duty. I trust this great event, the intelligence of which has come out by the same conveyance that has brought His Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe to assume the government of these Colonies, may prove indicative of the prosperity of his administration. There is perhaps no event more likely to occasion a great circulation of navigation, commerce and trade through the United Province. Its effect will probably be to induce a very great increase in the cultivation of wheat in the extensive territory of the Western States, for the markets of Great Britain. But when we add to this probability, the known circumstance that nigh fifty per cent. has been taken off the duties in Great Britain on corn from foreign nations, and also, that the farmers of Great Britain are now making great exertions to increase the products of the soil, by the late discoveries in agricultural chemistry we conceive there is great reason to believe, that prices of wheat in Great Britain will soon rule very low. The consequence will be, that our farmers in Western Canada will have to meet low prices from our merchants for shipping home. The above intelligence therefore, though it will give a great addition to trade and navigation in the Province, gives

also an additional argument for seeking to obtain the exclusive supply of our West India Colonies. If so great a boon has now been given to American farmers for their produce, and by which means our own farmers are thrown into the back ground; it is hardly credible, the British Government would refuse them, and the commercial interests of the Province, the boon of the exclusive supply of our West India settlements.

It appears to me then, that by this change in the corn trade in Great Britain, the prices which our merchants will be able to give to the farmers of Canada for wheat or flour to be shipped to Britain, will be so low as to affect its cultivation here.

That the consumption of British goods in the United Provinces may thereby be diminished.

That, therefore, this change in the corn trade presents an additional motive to the merchants of the Province, for seeking to obtain the exclusive supply of our West India settlements as a means of obtaining a fair remunerating price for the products of their customers, the farmers of United Canada, and

That, the same reason will have a great effect on the British Government, in their consideration of any memorial which may be transmitted to it, on the trade of supply of our West India settlements.

In the former chapter of this work, I stated my intention to show "the bearings of an improved state of agriculture of Eastern Canada on the foreign commerce of Quebec, Montreal, &c."—There cannot be a doubt that if we succeed in re-establishing this agriculture, it will form a powerful inducement to the British Government to grant us

the boon of the exclusive supply of the West Indies. The question would then be put beyond all doubt, that we can, not only furnish the annual demand of those Islands, but that there will be then a much greater production of wheat, than is required for it, and of course a greater competition among the shippers, by which these Islands will be supplied cheaper.

CHAPTER III.

On the present political condition of United Canada, containing, a consideration of the eventful question of Responsible Government, and a review of Lord John Russell's dispatch of October 14th, 1839, shewing that it contains those limits which the constitutional security, and the nature of circumstances in this Province require.

In the 2nd chapter, 1st number, of my work, "The Considerations on the past, present and future condition of the Canadas," I stated the principle on which I considered the plan of their union ought to be founded in the following sentence: "But the fact is, *that* scale, under the past and present condition of the Province, would have to be brought down *exactly to the point*, which would serve to produce a thorough *Constitutional Parliament*. Things must actually be managed in such a manner, in the formation of a scale of representation for a United Parliament, that *no doubt whatever shall exist on this subject*."

The 3d number of same work, on the Union, contains the following paragraph:

"Having thus finished our enquiry into the nature of the Bill of Union, now become the Law of the Land, and having considered how far this Act of Union is likely to carry out the principles men-

tioned, namely, to produce the return of a "truly Constitutional Parliament or House of Assembly, we cannot but come to the conclusion, that the effect of the Bill of Union to produce this desirable end, is at least doubtful and uncertain, whereas, the principle we stated as the scale of representation which past events and the present state of the Province would have warranted was, "that no doubt whatever should have been allowed to exist on this subject."

Has not the last Session of the United Parliament exhibited scenes and events, rather prognostic of the doubt and uncertainty stated in the above extract?

Hardly had the loyal and indomitable part of the population of the United Province time to recover from the baneful effects of the rebellions and the "sympathizing attacks from our neighbors;" hardly had returning confidence and quiet begun to be enjoyed, and the hopes of men to look for the wise and steady operations of the Legislature, in advancing the agriculture, commerce and general prosperity of the United Province; when on a sudden, and as may be said "in the twinkling of an eye" men of known characters for loyalty, who had, for numerous years, served the Crown and the Province, with honor and ability, were summarily dismissed from their high stations, to make room for others, several of whom have been repeatedly charged with aiding or fostering the rebellions, without any refutation on their parts, that I have heard of, of those charges.

It was not surprising, that the loyal population of the Province should have appeared thunder struck,

and for a time incredulous, of these events. That the British Government intended to allow no distinction of origin, to bias its preferments to office, was well understood, and I believe, acquiesced in by the loyalists. There are many respectable Canadian families of French origin, in many parts of the Province, who had no concern whatever, in the late disturbances; there are many persons also of weight and ability among the reformers of Upper Canada of the same description. Had such as these been introduced into the Government, the equitable intentions of the British Government would have been complied with, without that violent injury to the feelings of the loyal, which has resulted from these events. It has been stated, however, by some of the Ministry in England, in extenuation of this proceeding of Sir Charles Bagot's Government, that it was represented to them as a course which the circumstances of the case rendered it necessary for him to pursue. From this statement, I beg leave completely to dissent.

Sir Charles had been some months in the country without assembling the Parliament:—During this time several circumstances indicated the course he meant to pursue. His refusal to attend to the petition of a most respectable body of the inhabitants of the John's Town District in Western Canada, concerning Mr. Buel, who was charged with most nefarious conduct during the late rebellion, and attacks on the Province; seemed at least to show, that the Governor had no very warm regard for the feelings of the loyalists in that part of it. The next step that gave this indication was, the removal of one of

the Judges of Montreal District, of British descent; one who for many years, obtained general approbation for the uprightness of his judicial conduct, and the general affability of his manners. He had performed the duties of President of the Bench for three years, but was displaced by Judge Day, whose situation as Solicitor General was destined to be given to a Canadian of French origin. The present Chief Justice, a French Canadian by birth, was placed on the Bench, though I believe it was the opinion of the public, that Judge Pyke for his long services ought to have had that honor conferred on him.

Mr. Hinck's also, of Western Canada, who had been either promised or appointed to the office of Inspector General, by Lord Sydenham, was confirmed by the late Government. This step has incurred very general disapprobation among the loyal and conservative party, in both divisions of the Province.

Mr. Hinck's politics, I never considered, both before and at the time of the disturbance in Western Canada, as much superior to those of Mr. Mackenzie. In order to secure the respect and consideration of the public, it appears to me that the men chosen to fill the high offices of Government, ought to be men of long standing and influence in the country, both by the property they hold in it, and the general estimation they are held in; and I confess that this appointment of Inspector General, had an immediate effect with me, of lowering the character of the late Government lower, than any previous Government I had known in the Canadas. As to the capacity required for that office, I conceive it no

greater, than what any clerk in the departments, of moderate abilities and application, might possess.

In consequence of these measures, it was pretty well known, before the meeting of the Parliament, that the confidence of the conservative party was gone from Sir Charles Bagot. The effect of this vacillating conduct must, of course, have immediately raised the hopes and spirits of the radical part of the House, so that it is probable a vote of want of confidence was contemplated from different motives, by both parties. Sir Charles, was indeed then obliged to throw himself into the hands of one of them, and this is perhaps what has been called in his extenuation, by Lord Stanley, "the course which circumstances had rendered it needful for Sir Charles to pursue."

Ever since the first landing of Sir Charles Bagot in this Province, and indeed long before that, its political atmosphere had been perfectly calm and quiet. Whatever unjustifiable means may have been employed during the late elections by Lord Sydenham, it is certain he carried through the public business with nearly the *very same men* who sat in the House of Assembly which Sir Charles met, and I feel persuaded that had *he*, with promptitude and energy, sustained by his public conduct, whatever was loyal and true in the Province, (as the conservatives had a right to look for, from him) he would not only have been sustained by them in return, but would have thereby confirmed all waverers, and got triumphantly through the session, without the necessity of falling into those steps so derogatory to the dignity of the British Govern-

ment, which subsequently took place. In England, where what is called responsible Government, is in full force, the ministerial party, generally retires from office, when they have no longer a majority in Parliament to carry on the public business; the opposite party take their places; but it is not to be supposed, that should any one of that party, be tainted with treasonable practice, or even suspected of treasonable disposition, he would be permitted by the Crown to take office.

Even in the most democratic states, no person could expect to have a share of that Government conferred on him, who had been guilty of treasonable designs against it. It is, therefore, no justification to say, that men of unimpeached loyalty could have been found among the Franco Canadians, or the reformers in Western Canada, but they had not the confidence of those parties. They, the representatives of those parties, should (if the public business could not proceed without) have been sent back to their constituents, who when it was understood by them that no men of known disloyal conduct, could be admitted to a share in the Government, would no doubt have found men worthy of their confidence, whose political conduct would not be a bar to their being appointed to a share in that Government.

Public men have indeed very different modes of thought on public affairs; and these different modes, are the origin of the various political parties, called Tory, Conservative, Whig, Reformers or Radical. They have a natural right to follow these modes of thought, and, if they can, to embody them constitu-

tionally in such public enactments as they consider will promote the public good. But here their political rights end. If, in pursuance of their political bias or creeds, they proceed to aid, or sanction the overthrow of the Government by illegal means, they can have no right nor reason, to expect *that* Government to give them additional power to do so, by appointing them to the high offices of the Province.

The patriotic conduct of the British loyal population all over the Province, on the occasion of the late disturbances, was highly extolled, not only in the Imperial Legislature of Great Britain, but it met with the warmest praise and admiration from the people of England themselves. Could the recent events then, have created a less sensation in the minds of the British population of the Province than it did? Was it possible to believe that a British Governor, so shortly after these rebellions and these extolling praises had taken place, would, on any account, whatever, have so far outraged their feeling as to dismiss, tried and faithful servants of the Crown and Province, to put in their places men of an entirely opposite description?

Even if the British Government had determined on introducing something like Responsible Government into the Province, they should have considered, that the practice was new here, that the minds of a great part of the population were opposed to it; and therefore, they should have at least taken care, it should not be attended with those aggravating circumstances.

It is true, that Mr. Stanley, in his late debate on the motion of that great *friend of loyal Canada*,

Mr. Roebuck; has shown that Lord Stanley and the British Government were not disposed to confound all distinction between loyalty and treason in this Province, and to cast aside the decision of its Laws. But, considering how the feelings of the loyal population of the Province, have been outraged by the late events in it, it appears to me that something more is required at the hands of the British Government, to allay and to quiet these feelings. If in pursuance of their policy, these feelings have been so outraged, it is their duty, not only on this account, but on account of the respect they owe to the feelings of the people of England, regarding the conduct of the loyal British population of Canada in the late rebellions, to show by some specific measure their approbation of that conduct.

The first step towards this, should I conceive be :
1st Remuneration to those who suffered losses or wounds during the late disturbances.

2dly. Due compensation to those who have been removed from office by the late changes.

3dly. Rewards by grant of land conferred on such persons, as were distinguished by their active exertions in putting down the late disturbances, and who wish to settle on land.

By measures of this kind, the determination of the British Government to sustain the reign of law, order and peace, in the Province, would be made manifest; the confidence of the loyal restored, and the efforts of the disaffected, should they revive in it, be frustrated. It would appear then, that the Union Act in this, its second session, has nearly "suffered a syncope." During this session, men,

who, if not directly concerned in the late disturbances, have supported the opinions from which they arose by their writings, or agitating speeches, have now got into power. How they will use that power, time will show. If, as it is to be hoped, under the influence of gratitude for the concessions and honors conferred on them: they show a moderation and an intention to advance, by their public conduct the great interests of the Province; if they exhibit talent and zeal sufficient to restore the almost prostrate condition of its agriculture, and commerce, and the completion of its public improvements; it is to be trusted that, under the prudence and energy of the great public character, whom it is the good fortune of the Province, to find invested with its Governor Generalship, the country may now be "destined to thrive and to prosper."

It is indeed "desperately to be wished," that the above principles may direct the line of conduct of the next session of the Provincial Parliament. But it must be observed, there are many impulses to be guarded against, which, if followed, may produce a very contrary effect. If, by the heats of party spirit, in the pursuit of such objects, as in consequence of the recent events in the Province, we cannot at present obtain, or, which as a colony, are not within our reach; if, in the inconsiderate pursuit of such objects, the above named great wants of the Province, be neglected and overlooked, let them remember, that a revision of the Act of Union may possibly be found needful. The Union of the two Provinces is, as I trust to have shown in my last work on the Canadas, the only way perhaps, by

which their general prosperity can be secured.— This Union is yet only in its infancy, it requires to be nurtured with care, and with patience; its bearings have to be watched with the scrutinizing eye of parental attention, and, whatever obstructions it may at first meet with, I boldly venture to predict, that the wisdom and energy will not be wanting in the British Government, to render its youth and its manhood productive of the above desirable end. I am not prepared to say, that those who oppose the Union of the Provinces, wish for separation from the Mother Country, but, as that wish has been charged on certain classes, I here give my ideas on that important subject.

In some of the daily prints we are told, that Lord Stanley, in a late speech in the Parliament, the precise words of which I do not recollect, but the purport was "that if Canada were not retained to Great Britain, through the wishes of the people of this Province, he would not wish to retain possession of it." Now, I must confess, I cannot conceive the necessity of, or what good end such a declaration could answer. Had not Lord Stanley, and the British Government sufficient evidence, that the people of Canada wish for the maintenance of their present relation with the parent State, by the final issue of the late rebellions and invasions of the Province? "*Les Anglais ont le pays, et ils l'auront toujours*" said an old habitant farmer of the Quebec District, to me, many years since, and it must be allowed, that but one district of Lower Canada was concerned in these disturbances, and as for Western Canada, the people and the people

only of that part of the Province, put down the outbreak in it. A declaration of the above kind, then, could tend only, to give delusive hopes to designing and agitating persons ; for no doubt, numbers are to be found in it, unfavorable to British connection ; but the loyal and respectable British subjects of the Province, have a right to claim the continuation of this connection as their birth right, both on account of their long possession of it, and of the repeated declarations that have been made, I believe in both Houses of Parliament, that "the British Colonies were to be considered as integral parts of the British Empire."

The Constitution of Great Britain was not won by its people, until after ages of arbitrary Government.

It was seceded and secured to them, by the most solemn organic charters. The people have now possessed it 155 years. All the social transactions of the country must have been formed on the faith of the irrevocable and sacred guarantee of this constitution. Nothing then, but the almost unanimous voice of the Legislature and people of that country, would have the right to change, or, upset that constitution ; and it is perhaps from this unfading confidence in its permanent durability, as much as from the regard and attachment of the nation for it, that its grandeur and power have been derived. The Colonies form a part of that Empire, and have therefore an equal claim to possess and retain that share of the British Constitution, which has been conferred on them.

The classes of people in Canada, who are said

to wish for separation from the Mother Country, are composed, first, of some of those who have resorted here from a neighbouring nation, and having been bred in the political creed of that nation, have not yet assimilated with our own; secondly, of some, from various parts of Great Britain, who have been disaffected there, and brought their discontent along with them; 3dly, of some among ourselves, who have either been imbued with imaginary grievances, or have some real ones to complain of. But all persons, who are not only well acquainted with the nature, degree of strength, and capacities of Canada, but with the relative power, ambition and characters of the Governments, and people of the nations of Europe are well convinced, that Canada is in no situation, either internal or external to set up for itself, and that its inhabitants are much more happy in enjoying security under "their own fig trees," protected by a most powerful, free and generous nation, than in being exposed to the aggressions of those of a contrary description.

To conclude this part of our subject; let us then hope, that under the blessing of Heaven, the ensuing Session of the United Provincial Parliament, will be distinguished by unanimous efforts to promote the peace and good order of the Province, and that the patriotic energies of its representatives, will be directed to that improvement of its agriculture and its commerce, which the interests of every inhabitant of it, so urgently demand.

I shall now proceed to state my views, of the

great and eventful question of Responsible Government,—and shall first present the reader with a few extracts from numbers 2 and 3 of the work called “Considerations on the past, present, and future condition of the Canadas,” as they contain our line of reasoning, to shew that the precise „degree of Responsible Government, practised in the Government of Great Britain, would be productive of baneful consequences in this country, and therefore, requires modification, adapted to its nature and circumstances.

We shall next present a short statement of what took place, in the first and second sessions of the United Parliament, on the subject of Responsible Government, with answers to some of the speeches. We shall also, give a copy of Lord John Russell’s famous dispatch on that subject, with a review thereof, proving that the dispatch contains those limits to the practice of responsible Government, which the constitutional security, and the nature of circumstances in this Province require.

In No. I. of the Considerations on the Canadas, pages 47 and 49, are the following remarks on Responsible Government in Upper Canada :

“The chief objection that has been stated to the constitution of the Upper Province, has been, that the Executive Council is not made responsible, and therefore subject to be removed by the House of Assembly, as is done by the House of Commons in England.

“Almost all the leaders of the late rebellion in the Upper Province, were people from the old country. They had, probably, first imbibed their

political creeds in it; and coming out to Upper Canada, have adhered to them without those modifications which the nature of the country of their adoption required. In England, the Government has now nothing what ever to fear, either from the contagious habits and manners of the neighbouring nations, or their hostile intentions. The reverse is the case in the Upper Province. Its near vicinity to a republic, and the number of persons continually emigrating from it into that province, who seldom fail to retain, and even to promulgate to their neighbours their predilection for republican institutions, require continual vigilance on the part of Government. The outside appearance of these institutions is seductive, and it requires the intelligence of a mind convinced, by enquiry and observation, of their inadequacy long to preserve the peace and welfare of the nation referred to, to resist those seductive appearances. That the members of the Government of Upper Canada, should constantly administer the same with justice and impartiality, and that they should accommodate their manners to the nature and habits of the people, there can be no doubt. But, besides these respectable qualities, they require to be invested with energy, strength and power, to enforce the laws, and to maintain that share of the British Constitution we possess; and I firmly believe, this to be the true way to preserve that constitution, and the loyalty for which that Province is generally distinguished, pure and intact."

"Were the Executive Council subject to be

displaced at the will and pleasure of the House of Assembly, it is evident, the Government would "be deprived of having such men in power, as they consider willing, and qualified to secure the very ends for which that Government is appointed, namely, the preservation of the present relation, of the Colony to the Empire, and the same argument will apply to Eastern Canada."

It will be seen then by the above extracts, that we consider, that when so highly important an operation is required in the Province as a change in its Government, on a popular account; the change should rather emanate from the people themselves. In this way, it is not likely changes would be sought for, except upon sound and indispensable reasons. The people are not given to change on every "wind of doctrine;" it must be real and substantial causes, acting upon their feelings and circumstances, that could move them to require and seek this change. This, it is to be understood, is, provided the people are left to their own good sense and feelings on this subject, not inflamed and acted upon by designing agitators, misrepresenting the conduct of public men; which, as far as the laws allow, should be prevented.

The liberty of the press is certainly the great palladium of a free constitution; without it, no country can lay claim to the dignified name of freedom. To this liberty of the press belongs the right of free and full discussion, of all public affairs, of the measures and conduct of public men, and of the Legislature. The press has the right to

enlighten the public mind in all these concerns. But if the first right of a free people be this liberty of the press, we may perhaps, with much truth, call the legal restraints on its *licentiousness*, the second right, of the same people. If for instance in the discussions of the conduct of public men, or of the Executive Government, no regard whatever be paid to truth; if public writers continue to misrepresent and to vilify that conduct, it is evident, that in course of time, the Government might be unjustly debased in the opinions of a great part of the people. The consequence would be, if these mal-practices were not restrainable by law, that seditious agitations might produce tumultuous proceedings, and it was no doubt on the experience of these effects being produced by the unrestrained licentiousness of the press, that the Law of libel was enacted. We have had a very serious example of the bad effects of this unrestrained licentiousness of the press in this Province.

Mr. Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and others here, vomited forth their libels many years, until at last, the late foolish rebellions were produced. Had the Laws been put in force against them, in due time, it is probable these effects would not have ensued, and the lives and properties of many, been saved. As sedition, therefore, is generally the forerunning cause of rebellion, and civil war, it seems required for the safety of the people and their peace, that the unjust licentiousness of the press, should be limited by the operation of just and wise Laws.

The public mind in Canada, takes a reasonable share of interest in the political proceedings of its Legislature; should any glaring acts of neglect, misconduct or injustice, or of an arbitrary nature, appear there, these would meet with its firm disapprobation; but apart from this, the people wish to pursue the occupations of private life, and its rational enjoyments, free from the restless turmoil, so common in a neighbouring country.

Long may this continue to be the characteristic of the public mind in Canada. It is respectable, social, and competent to produce private and public happiness. But I do not know of any political cause, more likley to effect a change in this happy character for the worse, than the continual agitations of the public mind, which I consider would be the consequence of what is called Responsible Government, if it were not modified with such limits as the nature of circumstances in this Province require, on which important subject, we shall treat at length, when we come to consider the Dispatch of Lord John Russell on this subject.

We have shewn in the foregoing pages, the nature of the responsibility which the Government is amenable to, by the constitutional right of the people of the Province, to petition the Imperial Government, or Parliament. We believe this kind of responsibility, is amply sufficient to ensure the redress of their real grievances. But as Government has determined on granting a degree of that responsibility to the House of Assembly, we have only to hope, that the degree conferred by the above dispatch, may be used with such "wise

moderation" as to preclude all dangerous tendencies.

We have now to consider, the proceedings which took place in the 1st and 2nd Sessions of the United Parliament on this subject.

We shall first make one observation on the singular concessions, made to the Reformers and "Franco Canadians, so recently after the rebellions. The British Government appear to have reasoned in the following manner. A part of your population have involved the Province in three rebellions; we have quelled them, and punished the guilty, according to the laws of the land. We shall now give you a new proof of our wish to acquire your gratitude and attachment. We offer you a share in the Government. If you use it for good, it is well; if you bring the country again into disorder, you will find the laws and good order of the Province, will not be violated with impunity.

In the Montreal Gazette of June 21st and 22nd, "1841, we have the following account of proceedings in the honorable House of Assembly on the 18th that month.

"The House of Assembly met this morning at ten, and were engaged during the forenoon, in adopting a set of rules. After the intermission of an hour, they met again at 3 P. M., when the special order of the day, the address upon the speech was taken up in committee of the whole, Mr. Morris in the Chair. On Mr. Cameron the member for Lanark, bringing in the resolutions, on which the address (and echo of the speech) is to be founded, a most important debate ensued, which

ultimately led to declarations on the part of gentlemen representing Government in the House, which must mark the day as an epoch in the annals of Canada. The opinions of reflecting men differ widely as to the probable result; while some look upon the communication of the new policy as a political advent, promising a long course of prosperity and greatness, others look upon it with sincere despondency, and with melancholy forebodings, that it is the first step towards those incroachments upon executive authority, which must terminate in colonial independence."

Mr. Buchanan said, he did not wish the address to be discussed until a preliminary question was disposed of. He meant to ask of the gentlemen occupying the Treasury Benches, if they were prepared to carry on the Government, in case they were not sustained by a majority of that House? This question brought up Mr. Attorney General Draper, who appears to act as leader for his colleagues. The time and limit assigned to this letter, will not permit me to make any thing more than a meagre outline of a speech, replete with that gentleman's lucid arrangement, and flowing eloquence, or with the other important speeches. Upon Mr. D's speech being made, the House plunged into the "*vexed sea of Responsible Government*" from which they emerged as will be seen further on."

Mr. Draper said, he was happy to have it in his power to make an exposition of the principles, which he, and those with whom he was associated, entertained. They understood each other, and

he declared that, what he was about to give as his opinion, was the opinion of them all. The honorable and learned gentlemen, then at length, went into a statement of the powers and position of the Head of the Government in this country, he stated with beautiful precision, that not only was the Governor General the representative of Royalty, but also, a part of the Imperial Administration, to which he was deeply responsible.

m. 12. "In his ministerial capacity, he was liable to impeachment, but not in this country, and therefore, from the source whence he derived his power, there was his responsibility. That power never could be transferred into other hands, for the exercise of which, he alone was responsible.

"With reference to the position of the advisers of the Government. Mr. D. adverted to the dispatches of Lord Glenelg, 5th December, 1835, relating to the responsibility of the Executive Council; Lord John Russell's resolutions in the House of Commons, March 1836, and his dispatch upon the tenure of office, and the Governor General's reply at Halifax. Mr. D. believed that the Government ought to be conducted in accordance with the well understood wishes of the people, and that there could be no prosperity when the Executive was at war with them. It was the duty of the Government, to restore harmony between itself, and the representatives of the people, and in case it could not be done, there were three remedies to be attempted. 1st to dismiss the Executive Council. 2nd to dissolve Parliament. 3d for the Executive Council to be recalled, or to resign.

" Mr. Baldwin said, he had listened with a great deal of pleasure to the learned Attorney General's remarks upon the great question, which had now come before the House. He admitted frankly, and never had disputed that the form of Government, which we possessed was a mixed one, and must necessarily pervade the whole Government. The head of the Government here, had unquestionably a deep responsibility to the present Government, for the administration of the Affairs of the Colony; but his executive councillors, he conceived were responsible to the people of this country, for the fulfilment of their duty. They were bound to advance the good of the country; if their advice was accepted, well, if not, they ought at once to resign, and not continue to hold office, in defiance of public opinion. Mr. B. honestly believed, that, if the dispatches of the 14th and 16th, October, 1839, were duly carried out, it *was all that was required*. He, Mr. B. was disposed to give the advisers of his Excellency a fair trial. If they fully act upon the principles they have this day avowed, we shall have no more difficulty about Responsible Government; but he did not wish to be misunderstood; it was not that alone which would make good Government; it was a means to an end, &c. &c. He hoped the important concessions this day made would be an earnest of that political condition for which he had always contended."

Mr. Draper further explained, reading from Lord John Russell's dispatch.

Mr. Merritt said, he did expect, after what had occurred today, that the advisers of the Government

would have come out more distinctly ; he did not approve of mystifying the matter. He believed the Governor General was fully prepared to carry out the principles of Responsible Government, as understood by Lord Durham, and that this was the cause of His Excellency's popularity. The distinction he (Mr. M.) would draw was broad and obvious. He believed the power of the Executive, as a minister of the crown, could not be delegated ; but he believed that his Executive Council, chosen from the people of this country, were responsible to the people for the advice given in our internal affairs, and that they were bound to resign when they had not that confidence.

Mr. Cameron said, he had come into the house prepared to assume the position of a sincere supporter of the Government. He had acted on the belief that the practice of the British Parliament was to be introduced into that House, which was, that when the members of the Government who had seats in that House could command a majority, they were to retain their places, when they could not they were to resign.

Mr. Boswell hoped that gentlemen connected with the Government would answer the question categorically. He would inform them that it would be impossible to carry on any Government except a despotism, without the confidence of the people, and the admission of the principle sought for today.

In the Montreal Gazette of the 22d June, is a statement of Mr. Draper's speech. On this date he said :

" And he (Mr. Draper) would further call to the

recollection of the Committee, the resolution moved by Lord John Russell, and which was confirmed by the Houses of Lords and Commons :—‘ That while it is expedient to improve the composition of the composition of the Executive Council, it is inadvisable to subject it to the responsibility demanded by the majority of the House of Assembly.’ He would only add that to the foregoing principles thus clearly laid down he gave his unreserved assent.”

From the Mirror of Parliament.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, June 18.

Mr. Boswell said, the honourable and learned gentleman must excuse him for again pressing the question, because it was of very great importance to him that the question should be distinctly answered, as upon that answer would depend his future course of conduct within that House, and he would put it in such a shape as that it might be replied to by a single affirmative or negative. Does the honourable gentleman mean to say, that if the Government cannot command a majority of this House, so that its measures may be carried on harmoniously; if they do not find by the whole proceedings of the House that they have the confidence of a Majority of its members, that then a dissolution of the House shall follow, or that they will resign? (“Yes, yes,” from Mr. Draper.) Then I am satisfied.

From the Gazette of June 28, 1841.

KINGSTON, Friday, June 25.

Mr. Moffatt defended the measure he had proposed.

As to Responsible Government, of which they had heard so much, he wished his words borne in mind, that he had no confidence in such a project. he apprehended it would terminate in confusion, and that the Government would have to retrace its steps."

From Montreal Gazette, June 24, 1841.

KINGSTON, June 18.

Mr. Hincks said: "The principles which were then advanced by a majority of the House of Assembly, were the same as those which he at present advocated, the principles of Responsible Government, principles which he found laid down in Lord Durham's Report. Every honourable member of this House must be fully aware, that the great mass of the country had been convinced that the Head of the Government had intended this to be the principle upon which the Government was to be conducted. The dispatch of Lord John Russell appeared to him to be inconsistent with itself. The first part, from which the learned gentleman quoted, was altogether at variance with the latter, which Mr. Hincks was well assured was far more satisfactory. It recommends non-interference on the part of the Crown with our internal affairs, except when the interests of the empire and the honour of the Crown are deeply concerned. He agreed with his honourable friend from Haldimand that it is time the House and the country should know distinctly whether this system of interference in our internal Government is to be persevered in by the Home Government. It matters little who are responsible here, if we are constantly to have our laws, which

we have passed at great trouble and expense, set at naught, and sent back to be annulled and void.

Having now stated these proceedings, I shall make a few observations in reply to several of these speeches.

It appears that Mr. Baldwin himself allows "that if the dispatch of 14th October, 1839, (Lord John Russell's dispatch,) were duly carried out, it was all that is required." Now in this observation I thoroughly agree with Mr. Baldwin. It is the only kind or degree of responsibility which the British Government is pledged to; that it will be duly carried out there is no doubt, and I believe it is all that is required to promote the advancement of the country, and to avoid those dangers, which I verily believe unrestrained responsibility would soon produce.

Mr. Merritt and Mr. Cameron both appeared to think that it was the intention of the Government to concede the responsibility of Lord Durham, by which they understood the same degree of it was to be practised here, as in the House of Commons in England. Now if they had attended closely to Lord John Russell's dispatch, they would find it is not in the power of any Governor to entertain any such intention. They are directly forbid so to do. "The Crown and the two Houses of Lords and Commons having thus definitively pronounced a judgment upon the question, you will consider yourself precluded from entertaining any proposition upon the subject."

But although the ministers stated on this occasion

as above, it does not appear that Lord Sydenham ever declared his concession of entire responsibility to the House of Assembly; and no doubt, intended to act in conformity to the spirit of Lord John Russell's dispatch. Mr. Hincks appears to have been under the same error as Messrs. Merritt, Cameron, and Thorburn, in supposing that full and entire responsibility was granted to the Houses of Assembly. The accurate Mr. Hincks no doubt would see, that however he conceived Lord John Russell's dispatch to be inconsistent with itself, it was clearly affirmative that Lord Durham's, or entire responsibility, (if Lord Durham actually meant that,) could not be granted by any Governor. But though the dispatch forbids any general pledge of responsibility, it is certainly no way inconsistent with itself, in directing the Governor not to oppose the wishes of the Houses of Assembly, when neither the "honour of the Crown nor the interests of the empire required it". Will Mr. Hincks have the goodness to recollect this is a Colony, and that if the Imperial Government is to be at the expense of protecting, fostering, and improving it, it certainly has a right to a share in its affairs!

It appears then, by the review of these debates, that although Mr. Draper, as a minister, declared that he and his colleagues would either resign or that the house would be dissolved, if they could not have a majority in it, still there had been no express acknowledgment on the part of Governor Sydenham that entire responsibility was conceded. Mr. Draper and the other ministers could then

answer, only for themselves. The Governor could act only on Lord John Russell's dispatch, from which he receives a discretionary power.

It is probable, that many of those who wish for absolute responsibility to the Houses of Assembly, are partial to the institutions of a neighbouring republic; but it is remarkable, and may soothe the minds of these gentlemen, in their great zeal for that sort of responsibility, that there is really no such thing in the General Government of that republic. Although the President may be, and sometimes is, unable to carry his measures through the Congress, his ministers do not retire. Those measures die a natural death, and there is an end of them. If it be replied, that the President goes out himself every four years, we can say, so do our Governors in Canada, and every Governor has the right to choose his own ministers. The boasted American Government then, itself is not responsible in its ministers to their Houses of Assembly; and ours may well congratulate themselves on the share conferred on them by the above-named dispatch of Lord John Russell.

I now proceed to state the principal contents of a most singular document, which was given to an astonished public, during the second Session of the United Provincial Parliament. This is no less than a letter from His late Excellency Sir Charles Bagot, written during that Session, and addressed to Mr. Lafontaine, of which the following is an extract :

"I have accordingly come, and not without difficulty, to the conclusion that for such an object I will consent to the retirement of the Attorney

General, Mr. Ogden, from the office he now holds, upon its being distinctly understood, that a provision will be made for him, commensurate with his long and faithful services.

"Upon his retirement I am prepared to offer you the situation of Attorney General for Lower Canada, with a seat in my Executive Council.

"The office of Solicitor General of Lower Canada has long been kept vacant, in the hope of some arrangement, by which the object which I always had in view might have been assisted, and I shall be happy to listen to your suggestions of the name of any gentleman of British origin whose co-operation in the Government will aid us in the attainment of our common object.

"I have reverted carefully and anxiously to your expressed wish of being joined in your adherence to my Government, by a sufficient number of supporters, to insure the confidence of those whose interests you represent."

Sir Charles then proceeds: "Mr. Girouard has been represented to me as a gentleman possessing administrative faculties of a high order, and at the same time the confidence of his countrymen.

"He can mutually assist in forwarding my object in this respect, and I have therefore determined, if I should be successful in inducing you to accept my proposition, on offering him the situation held by Mr. Davidson, with a seat in the Council, on the understanding that the latter gentleman shall also be provided for, in a manner suitable to his just pretensions, and that Mr. Girouard shall be elected by some constituency, a member of the assembly.

"I have further determined to offer the confidential post of Clerk of the Council to some gentleman of your recommendation, and would suggest that the reputation enjoyed by Mr. Morin or Mr. Parent would designate them as among the fittest persons."

He then goes on to say, "He shall be willing to avail himself of Mr. Baldwin's services."

These then are the contents of this "famous letter," and, to a loyal mind who has passed through the late scenes in this country, and been ready to defend it against internal or external attacks, it really appears incredible, that such a letter could have been penned by a Governor General of the United Province of Canada.

These remarkable and unexpected changes having then taken place in the Government, many people seem to be of opinion, that entire responsibility of the Executive Government to the House of Assembly is established in the Province. But Sir Charles Bagot, it is to be observed, has never, any more than Lord Sydenham, by any public document, declared that responsibility. With respect to the changes and appointments stated in his letter, he must have conceived that he was authorized to make them by Lord John Russell's dispatch, for we know of no other, on the subject of responsibility, from the British Government, which had there been, would no doubt have been promulgated long since, in his justification. I shall shew in my review of that dispatch, that it actually forbids the Governor of the Province to entertain the idea of such responsibility, the three branches

of the Imperial Legislature having formally and constitutionally, denied it.

Having now stated some of the speeches in favour of entire responsibility of the Government to the Houses of Assembly, I have to observe, that as it is conceded by them, that the Governor in Chief is not responsible thereto, the question embraces the responsibility of the Executive Councillors, only. The chief of the arguments for responsibility above stated, are based upon the supposed right of this Province to every part of the British Constitution. But it is to be remembered, that Canada is not England, nor is England Canada. The one is a Colony, having no power nor voice in making peace or war with foreign nations; the other has that power, and therefore, responsibility to Parliament is of infinitely greater importance *there*, than in a Colony.

As I have stated in No. 3, page 13, on the Union of the Canadas, the right of responsibility for the good government of every part of the empire, belongs to *no* particular district of it, but to the *entire British Empire*, and this right is transferred by the British Constitution to the Legislature of the Empire. Every British Colony is virtually represented there, and has an equal right to memorialize it, as any person or district in any part of Great Britain has.

Parliament has not the power of taxation of the Province, except for the regulation of commerce; therefore, as a Colony, we have not exactly the same claim to every part of the British Constitution as England, Ireland, and Scotland have.

Wisdom would teach us, that we must base our system of Government on the principle, that its present relation with the Parent State is to be maintained, and is best calculated for acquiring the prosperity and security of the Province. The question then to be decided is, how would this relation with the Parent State be affected or endangered, by entire and unrestricted responsibility of the Executive to the Houses of Assembly? I shall now attempt to answer this question.

I shall first take a short review of the composition of society in this United Province, as it may serve to give us a tolerable insight into the course of conduct we may expect from its component parts. Entire prescience of the future, belongs indeed, to the Deity alone. Reasoning upon extended views of the consummate wisdom and energy of the laws by which the material world we live in, and the heavenly bodies which surround it are governed; reasoning further, from the same wisdom, by which he has adapted the societies of men and the individuals composing them, to fulfil the ends of the natures he has bestowed; we are forced to conclude, that he, the Deity, must foresee the entire progress and final end of these various societies. To man, however, the Deity imparts some portion of this foreknowledge, by the penetration with which some minds are eminently endowed. But, in order to exert this faculty with advantage, it is of high importance to the Government of a country, to be possessed of an intimate knowledge of the component parts of the society composing it. It is from this knowledge, they may

form a just view of the measures needful to be taken, for the prevention of evil ensuing therefrom, and thus establish the security of the country entrusted to their care and vigilance.

One would imagine, that in a young country like Canada, where nature reigns in wild and simple majesty, where life is sustained by the products of its soil, by a moderate, though steady degree of labour and industry ; where its scanty population is not burdened and distressed by the enormous load of rents and taxation, which occasions so much misery in Great Britain, and other countries, one would, I say, imagine, that this scanty population ought almost to resemble one common family, and draw continually together for the common good ; and so they probably would, were they all of one origin and one language, as long as wise laws, justly administered, existed among them.

It has pleased Providence, however, to constitute the society of United Canada, of very dissimilar parts, in origin, in language, in religion, and in education, and of course in intelligence ; and derivable from these great elements of human society, have originated great difference in modes of thought and in manners.

I shall merely mention the existence of the aborigines of the country, because even those who are located, have yet had no share in the representation of the Province, conferred on them, though I should conceive they are equally competent thereto, as some of their neighbours. They have been employed in the defence of the country in time of war, and have been greatly ser-

viceable in that defence; and I know of no way more likely to promote their civilization than by bestowing on those located, a voice in the representation of the country. Next we have the French Canadian population of Lower Canada. Transferred in 1759 by a despotic Government to Great Britain, they received a share of the British Constitution by act of the British Parliament, in 1791; and up to the year 1819, when I returned to Canada, the possession of that Constitution was a theme of congratulation among the French Canadian inhabitants of the Province, which it was cheering to an admirer of the British Constitution, to hear.

The discontents, the unwarrantable disturbances that have happened since that time, are too well known to be repeated, and I hope will soon be buried in eternal "oubli." The French Canadians originated chiefly from Normandy, in France; and it is remarkable that some considerable portion of the forefathers of Englishmen, must have originated from the same place, at the Norman conquest. I remember, in the year 1819, an Englishman accosting a French Canadian, asked him if he was not "French?" "No," said he, "I am not; I am a Canadian." And I believe that population in general, consider themselves as no more French, than they do English.

Many of the educated and intelligent classes in the towns, have no doubt derived their education from French literature; and indeed, when we consider the high character of that literature, the acuteness and industry with which the sciences are prosecuted in France, we cannot wonder they

should have that predilection. Canadian men of literature, however, should, in my humble opinion, consider, that if Lord Durham is correct in his opinions on Canada, as to the future character of its population, the French race can never become the dominant one. And indeed, when we reflect that population is every year becoming more and more redundant in Great Britain, whilst apparently, employment is yearly diminishing, we cannot doubt that emigration from that country must continue to extend. These Canadian men of literature should, therefore, be on their guard against letting their minds be imbued with modes of thinking hostile to this probable condition of the Province ; but rather assimilate them thereto.

From the year 1759, the year of the cession to Great Britain, to the year 1819, about which time the differences in the Provincial Legislature began, the French Canadian population exhibited a picture of content and social happiness, which probably was not surpassed on the face of the earth. During the last war, they showed themselves in general ready and willing to defend the country, and did do so, effectively, on the descent of the American army down the St. Lawrence to Chateauguay. It is but justice to allow them the merit of that action ; that was the act of the people themselves. But their representatives, in the former Houses of Assembly have been charged with not keeping pace with the spirit of the times, in advancing the agriculture, commerce, and public improvements of the country. The deficiency of security in the purchase of landed estate particularly, has been long and

loudly complained of by the British population in this part of the Province. It is certain that no prudent buyer of land will like to venture on a purchase so insecure. But a person wishing to purchase land has a right, in every well governed society, to demand such security from the seller. Whatever, therefore, may be the policy of withholding such security, it is evident that in the present enlightened state of society, this demand, so consistent with every principle of justice, cannot be much longer resisted, and that, therefore, registry offices must be established. In the present state of agriculture, and particularly of wheat agriculture in this Eastern part of the United Province, the withholding this establishment of registry offices, is particularly unjust to the Canadian cultivators who wish to sell, for it prevents them from settling on lands in Upper Canada, where they might produce from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat per acre.

The French Canadian component part of the population of United Canada, amounts at this time to between 5 and 600,000. That part of it which inhabits the District of Three Rivers, the Quebec District and the part below it, I am more acquainted with than with the inhabitants of the Montreal District. The former have always borne the character of a moral, religious, and social people. They therefore deserve to be happy; and as they enjoy a mild, just, and generous Government, it will be their own fault or that of their leaders if they are not so. I was born, and have lived long among them, and should be happy

to be an humble instrument of Providence in advancing their prosperity.

It was lately stated in the British Parliament, I believe by Lord Stanley, that one motive with the British Government for giving the French Canadian party a share in the Government was, that the Union, having now taken place, that party could no longer have an overwhelming power in the Houses of Assembly ; but it is to be remembered that there is a party in the Western part of the Province who call themselves reformers.

Now it was by the junction of these parties that Sir Charles Bagot (who had lost the Conservative influence), was led into the line of conduct he pursued last session, and which has caused so much irritation among the Conservatives of the entire Province. The question is now, what will be the future conduct of these parties ? It is well known that the Reformers of the Upper part of the Province were formerly at least, not very friendly or zealous, for extensive public improvements. They inclined more to the economic side, and in my humble opinion, if their politics had prevailed, the great public works now going on in the Province would not have proceeded to their final accomplishment ; yet it is highly probable these works will change the face, character, and condition of the Province, in its agriculture, and its trade and commerce, in an immense ratio. The French Canadian party also, have never been remarkable for their zeal for public improvements. They seem yet to wish to remain stationary in their institutions. Now stability in these institu-

tions, if they believe them good, is praiseworthy ; but it may so happen, that they may have been good in one stage of the Province's advancement, but not in another. If the face of the country be rapidly changing, by extended settlements and cultivation ; if an extended commerce is about to be the consequence of that change, it is evident that facilities must be provided for this extending agriculture, commerce, and navigation, which demands may render changes necessary in institutions, however sanctioned by the length of their former duration.

It is much to be hoped, therefore, that these parties will now take an enlightened view of the actual stage of advancement in which the Province now is, and employ their talents and energy in sustaining it, and which I trust to have shewn, in the foregoing pages of this work, the country requires at their hands. Under the fostering care of the great, prudent and able character who has now been invested with the Government of these Provinces, a good opportunity will present itself for all parties in the Hon. Legislature to unite with one another, in promoting the advancement of the United Province in its agriculture, trade, commerce, and public improvements, without further delay.

The next component part of the population of the United Province whom I shall treat of is, that of persons who have resorted to the Province to settle in it, for transaction of business, from the various parts of the Parent State, namely, England, Scotland, and Ireland ; and their descendants,

natives of the country. This class comprises many of the officers of the departments of Government, also that body of men who have carried on and extended the commerce and trade of the Province from the date of the conquest in 1759, and without whose abilities and exertions this trade and commerce would probably have remained in comparative insignificance.

A numerous class of tradesmen, and mechanics of all descriptions, who have acquired the practice of their arts in the Old Country, practice them successfully in this. An extensive part of the agricultural population completes this component part of the United Province.

In Eastern Canada, this part of the population has, in general, shewn itself loyally attached and ready to defend the Constitution of the Province, and its connection with the Parent State. In the Western part of the Province, indeed, they have been divided into Conservatives, Reformers, Radicals, some of whom were involved in the late disturbances.

But the final issue of those disturbances in that Western part presented to the world, as complete a proof of general loyalty, as could be found in the annals of the British Empire. The answer of Sir Francis Bond Head, when asked by Sir John Colborne, then Governor in Chief, how many of the British troops he could spare? shewed his entire confidence in that general loyalty, and the event proved he had judged rightly.

And I shall now make a few observations on the changes in the late Government.

It is not to be doubted that Sir Charles Bagot had a sincere desire to advance the well-being and prosperity of the Province.

The proceedings of the late Governor I consider to be the effect of the too frequent change of Governors which takes place in the Province. After a Governor has resided in it four years, he has had just time enough, to become thoroughly acquainted with its nature, condition, and requirements. He by this time can understand thoroughly, the characters of the component parts of its society, and the views and the spirit by which they are actuated. He will have discovered that these consist of two great divisions, the one the spirit of loyalty and attachment to Great Britain, its laws, and Constitution; the other the reverse of this: open or concealed disaffection to every thing British, and, of course, a continual disposition to find fault, and to form and circulate unjust surmises. This spirit is also generally accompanied with an apathy to public improvements. He will have found that the mass of the people are disposed to quietude and content, under the mild and just rule of the British Government, unless when under the influence of the agitations of party. And he may have found also, that if the conduct of the Government of the Province is well directed in its various departments, under the influence of his the Governor's energies, it will ensure the approbation of its inhabitants, and their due submission to its laws.

The Governors at the time they are appointed to the Province should, in my humble opinion of

what would prove of much service to it, be engaged to hold that appointment for ten years. We should then have probably some stability in the Government, founded on the real circumstances of the country. Without an energetic and respectable Government, there is reason to believe the character of the inhabitants of the United Province would fall off from its present stability, and perhaps dwindle down to the interminable changes of a neighbouring country.

And indeed I fear this would be the case in a few years, if entire and unrestricted responsibility to the Houses of Assembly were to prevail with its probable effect, the mutation of all political power from the Government. This I trust to shew is not only contrary to the sort of responsibility intended by Lord John Russell's dispatch on this subject, but contrary also to the safety and well-being of United Canada.

Now it is this safety and well-being which forms one of my most earnest wishes. I am not aware that I belong to any particular party, *except* it be to those who sincerely wish to promote the welfare of the Province, and to preserve its relation with Great Britain. I have all along tried to shape my system of politics on the existing condition and circumstances of the Province. The blessings of a free Constitution and energetic Government, *are* I believe, indispensable for producing that end. These we may have in our relation with the Parent State, and I have stated above my reasons for believing, that on this relation the security and welfare of this United Province is founded; it fol-

lows, of course, that it is the duty of every man so believing, to resist the adoption of any measure which may have a tendency or effect of overthrowing that relation of the Province.

The remaining component part of the population of the United Province is, that of persons having emigrated to it from foreign countries, and their descendants, born in it. This part of the population of the Province is a very large one. In the Eastern part, several of the principal mercantile men in Quebec and Montreal are Americans, and almost the entire population of the Eastern Townships. This part of the country, considering the difficulties its inhabitants have had to struggle with, does them credit, being chiefly famous for the cattle they raise in it, and such interchange it possesses of beautiful hills and dales, that in the course of cultivation it will, I think, present some of the most delightful scenes in nature. Their first population were chiefly from the States; but many of their descendants, born in the country, are now grown up to manhood, and have, I believe, generally shewn themselves ready to defend the Province if attacked. If we can get the trade of supply of our West India settlements, it will be a good thing for these Townships. This component part of the population forms a considerable part of the population of Western Canada. Their fathers followed the British army at the close of the American revolution. They have received the appellation of U. E.'s. or United Empire Loyalists, and they well deserve that honourable name; for I believe a more devoted and determined set

of men in the defence of their country is not to be found in Her Majesty's glorious Empire. They greatly distinguished themselves in the last American war.

It is not to be denied, that as I have stated in No. 1 of my Considerations on the Canadas, "that from the near vicinity of Upper Canada to the neighbouring republic, many persons from thence are continually emigrating into that Province, who seldom fail to return, and even to promulgate to their neighbours, their predilection for republican institutions."

And it is this very vicinity, and consequent "emigration from the United States into the Province, that forms one of the chief objections to the introduction of unrestricted responsibility of the Government.

The inhabitants of Western Canada may not all be informed, that even in that much boasted republic, whose institutions are so plausibly exhibited to their ears, the troubles, the animosities, and the storms of opposite parties are in almost continual action. They may not all be informed, although repeated instances appear of it in the American prints, that the decisions and judgments of their courts of law are sometimes obstructed and resisted, and the law taken into the hands of bodies of the people, who inflict punishment without judge or jury. All this is at present, thank God, contrary to the wishes and character of the people of Canada. And they have shewn their detestation of those from that country, in the sympathizing times, who would gladly have conferred

those republican institutions upon them. But though this is the happy character of the bulk of the population of Canada at present, I am very apprehensive it would not long continue to be so, if entire and unrestricted responsibility of the Government to the Houses of Assembly were to take place. To shew this, however, belongs to that part of this work which treats of Responsible Government.

If, therefore, I shall be able to shew, in treating of unrestricted responsibility, that its attendant restless agitation of the public mind would probably have a bad effect on Canadian character, by depriving it of that steadiness which it now possesses, and endanger our union with the Parent State, I trust I shall also shew my fellow countrymen of Western Canada, that it will be wise in them to rest satisfied with that safe degree of responsibility of the Government to the Houses of Assembly, and in fact to the people themselves, which Lord John Russell's dispatch and the Constitution of the Province give them.

Having now completed our review of the nature and character of the various component parts of the population of the united Province, we shall be more able perhaps to answer the question proposed, namely, "how would our union with the Parent State be affected or endangered by entire and unrestricted responsibility of the Executive Government to the Houses of Assembly?"

It is no uncommon or difficult thing, for people of education and perhaps abilities, coming out to this Province from the Old Country, immediately

to conceive, and as far as their publications or influence enable them, to set about assimilating our institutions entirely to those of that country. These learned strangers to the Province, having imbibed liberal principles in the Old Country, founded perhaps on that immortal fabric of human wisdom, the British Constitution, are surprised to find that the Constitution of this Colony does not exactly resemble it.

I have shewn that the near vicinity to the neighbouring republic, greatly alters the nature and condition of this Province, from that of Great Britain, and that it is one cause, why entire responsibility of the Government to the Houses of Assembly would be more dangerous here.

Our review of the component part of the population of the United Province, will, I trust, present another very efficient cause of the same nature, and will shew, that it does not follow, that because the society of such a country as Great Britain, can bear the application of entire responsibility of the Government to the British House of Commons without danger to the safety of the state, that this powerful medicine is to be equally innocuous in the society of United Canada.

In the Old Country, the component parts of society are blended in very different proportions from those in this.

There, an hereditary aristocracy, sanctioned and firmly established by the duration of ages, possessed generally, of vast landed estate ; *there*, almost an *army* of possessors of vast wealth, acquired by commerce or inheritance, are all

deeply interested in the safety of the Constitution, and exert a vast influence over the main body of the people and the popular elections.

Here, to say there is no aristocracy, would be deviating from the entire fact. There is *no* country without some species of aristocracy. It is a part of the construction of societies, formed by the wisdom of the Deity himself, to secure the strength and welfare of those societies. Intelligent age in natives of a country, or in men of long standing therein ; superior talents, worth, or active and enduring qualities of the mind, always procure eminence and influence in society, and form its natural aristocracy. Here, in Canada, also, the division and inequality of property is pretty well established, and occasions a corresponding degree of respect. Men, therefore, of considerable wealth, or large commercial concerns, may possess and exert some degree of influence in their immediate neighbourhood, but they are too few in number to have any general effect on the representative elections that can be compared with the influential action so powerfully exerted on them, in the Old Country.

From the cause above stated, it follows, that in general, the representation of the Province is free and independent ; and I firmly believe, if the great mass of the people were left to themselves, to act according to their own good sense and feelings, they would act on reasonable and constitutional principles.

Whatever may be the prejudices of the various component parts of the society of the Province, or whatever party is in power, they must all acknow-

ledge, that they possess perfect freedom to follow their own business in their own ways, without the molestation of high rents, tithes, or taxes, so burdensome in other countries. The real causes then of discontent in such a country, must be sought elsewhere.

The annual expenditure of the United Province may amount to upwards of three hundred thousand pounds. This includes the interest on the public debt and expenses of Government. Besides this sum, there is now an annual outlay of about three hundred thousand pounds, currency, for public works, which will probably continue for nearly five years.

These large sums generate, of course, a very great amount of place, patronage, and preferment in the Government and its various departments, and in the Legislative branches. It is remarkable, that in this young country, places and preferment are perhaps more generally sought after, than in the old. I have heard of sixty applicants for one vacant place.

Now what is the effect of this Provincial raffle?

We must advert to our late views of the component parts of Canadian society to find this out.

When a Franco-Canadian, for instance, is unsuccessful in his application for any appointment, he is apt to ascribe it to his origin; and if a few such instances occur to individuals of that origin, the discontent runs through a great part of it, from a natural feeling of sympathy.

The case is the same though reversed, when persons from the Old Country, or their descen-

dants, meet with ill success in their applications. This was, indeed, more especially the case with the late Government, when it was under the operation of its "experiment," as it was called by Sir Charles Bagot himself, in one of his answers to addresses. Here, there was not only the old cry of ORIGIN to cause the discontent; but to loyal men the almost incredible fact was promulgated, that such were turned out of office, to let in some, who were either concerned in, or had sanctioned the late disturbances. And, considering the existence of this fact, so recently after those disturbances, and in the then state of the feelings of that loyal part of the Province, it is fortunate for its peace, and indeed a proof of the truth of their loyalty, that they did not suffer their feelings to lead them into a course which might have produced most serious consequences as the result of this "experiment." And indeed, had not the prudent and humane conduct of the principal persons, at a late political meeting in the Upper Province prevented it, that might have happened there. As it was, we have only to say, that it was recorded in the public prints, that near two hundred and fifty sleighs, loaded with the two parties, left Kingston for the place of meeting, Sydenham, armed with various weapons.

Thus, by a clear view of the present condition of the component parts of the population of the United Province, we find that this contest for places, power, and emolument, (which is confined to a very limited number, compared to the great mass of the people, and which this mass has, in fact and

in reality, very little concern in,) we find this contest does, by the force of sympathy and party spirit, draw the mass of the people into itself.

It therefore seems to me, and I should conceive, to every good and honest man in the Province, that the Government has to review and contemplate, with calm consideration, the scene before it. It is evident that in this condition of the Province, to give entire and unrestricted responsibility of the Executive Government to the Houses of Assembly, would be strengthening the power of one of the parties to enable it to foster and prolong a contest, fraught already with too much animosity, and thereby augment it to a dangerous degree.

In this dilemma then of the Province, it would appear, that the Government, instead of consenting to divest itself of its present constitutional powers, should firmly retain them, in order that it may be able to direct, control and manage these conflicting elements of discord, to prevent their noxious effects on the public peace, and to bend and lead them to the true ends of all Government, the promotion of the public welfare, advancement, and prosperity.

We now proceed to seek the answer to the question proposed.

Almost immediately after it was declared by some of the ministers of the Sydenham Government, that if they could not obtain the confidence of the House of Assembly they would retire; the public print called the Examiner, published in Western Canada, informed the people of this

occurrence, and observed, that it "would henceforward be their own faults if they did not employ the power thus given to them." The precise words I do not remember, but they were to that effect. Thus a wholesale sidewind canvass was directly commenced.

I cannot but "opine" that one of the first objects of many of the members of the House of Assembly would be, if this entire responsibility were conceded to them, to secure as many places of power and emolument in their own persons, connections, and dependents, as the said concession would enable them to do. They would thus have a very considerable share of the power of the Government in their own hands. Now I am willing, in a spirit of candour, to believe, that the present leaders of the House of Assembly, who have lately come into power, have, as several of them have declared in their speeches, no hostile intention against the present relation of the Province with the Parent State.

But in the course of two short years the present Parliament will have vanished down the stream of time. The people will have to be again applied to, to exert their electoral rights, and sundry gentlemen, conceiving their abilities sufficient to engage in Parliamentary affairs, and observing, perhaps, that many members of their acquaintance in the past House, have enjoyed considerable acquisitions from the new power conferred upon that House; these gentlemen set up for candidates for the people's favour. Having, perhaps, no qualities very superior to their neighbours, the



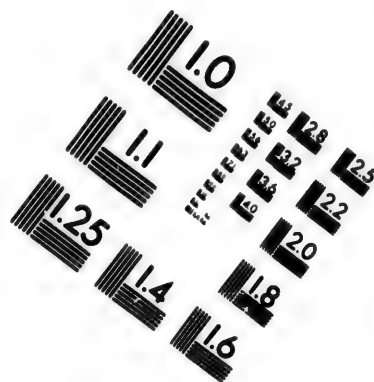
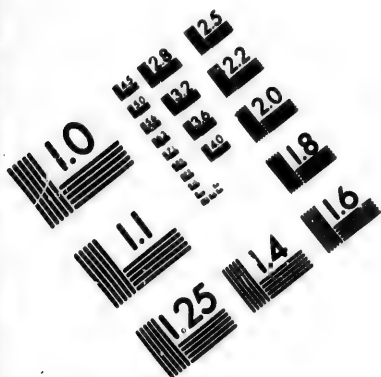
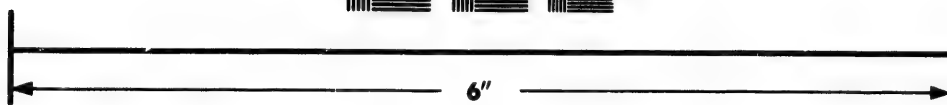
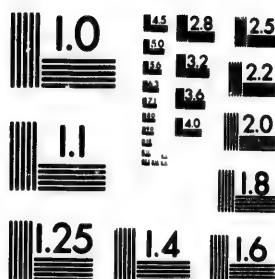


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only way they can ingratiate themselves with the electors is, by the promise of boons to be procured for them. The bait succeeds; the new members are elected, and, to keep their promise, new concessions are to be demanded from the Government. These, according to the nature of their political character, generate more or less party strife. If the concessions are acquired, they infuse into the electors a taste for the growing power of the representatives, and succeeding Parliaments continue to be stocked with new ones, on the same conditions.

It is indeed probable, that some candidates among them will appear, who will be found possessed of nobler motives of public action; a real desire and purpose to advance the prosperity of the country; but I am feign to believe, from the nature of things here, that the majority of the candidates will seek to acquire their seats on account of the advantages this power of unrestricted responsibility would confer on them.

We have as yet considered only the bright side of this question; namely, that the representatives in these successive Parliaments, still proceed on constitutional principles and motives of action. But the time may come when men, not possessed of those constitutional principles, may wish to obtain the emoluments and power which this unrestricted responsibility is found to confer. To succeed in obtaining their election, and finding, perhaps, that no more boons can be obtained from Government for the electors, they proceed to excite a spirit of discontent with the then order of

things ; they agitate the people, incessantly ; they speak to them of things which are not constitutional ; they misrepresent ; they use their abilities to convince them that these things are for their advantage and interest. They at length, perhaps, preach up separation from the Parent State as one of these advantageous things. The people's passions become excited ; the idea of independence is seductive, especially when the improbability of being able to maintain that independence long, and the dangers attending it are carefully kept out of their view ; and in the course of perhaps years of agitation of the people in this way, succeeding Parliaments may be found to declare that separation is the wish of the people.

I trust that, considering the nature of men and things in this Province, the description of the component parts of its population, and the influence of its near vicinity to the neighbouring republic, that I have not much overcharged this prospective view of the probable effects of unrestricted responsibility of the Executive Government, to the Houses of Assembly in producing great danger to the existing relation of this Province with the Parent State ; being the answer to the *question proposed above*.

In the physical world, from the geological structure of our earth, for instance, we know, that we are subject to the most destructive explosions every day of our lives. The idea even of central fire, of an immense ocean of that element, extending down to the centre of the earth, is being

now promulgated by some eminent geologists; and although, I trust, I have successfully confuted that opinion, in a late work published by me on the Creation of our Globe, yet that we are exposed, from other causes, to the dreadful effects of volcanic action, at uncertain times and places, all over the earth, constant experience teaches us. And I verily believe, that on a review of the component parts of its society, and our relative circumstances to other countries, we may not inaptly compare the moral and political situation of this Province, with the physical one above mentioned; that is to say, in the event of entire and unrestricted responsibility, existing in it.

When the revolution of 1789 broke out in France, as long as it was kept within the bounds of reason, moderation, and humanity, the good wishes of a great part of mankind, wished it success. This was the case pending the duration of their first Houses of Assembly. Many of the Girondine and Brissotine parties were men of real and pure patriotism and philanthropy, and several of them were men of high respectability, adorned with the most splendid gifts of scientific knowledge. But, if we wish to discover the fatal effects of all power being derived from agitation of the people, we find here a most awful and instructive lesson. The virtuous characters above mentioned, whose talents and energies had been exerted for the liberty and happiness of France, were soon displaced by the ambitious machinations of men of a very different description. The fears,

the jealousies, and all the other evil passions of the multitude, were artfully excited. Party after party, of worse and worse character, succeeded each other by the same means, and followed to the scaffold, until the character of the very people became changed and hardened to crime, by these excited passions, and the country deluged with blood. Human nature could endure it no longer. France appeared glad to seek protection in the arms of military power.

It is to be recorded, to the honour of the people of French origin in Canada, that they held these proceedings in utter horror, as did the rest of civilized society. The character of the united population of Canada, is still social and humane, and I trust and pray to God it may ever continue so. But we know now, from history the potent bad effects of party spirit, when employed in agitating the people. We know that too much of this has already existed here: the wise and the good deprecate its effects, and would be glad of a preventative; and I therefore conclude, that I am fairly borne out in the opinion above stated, that the Government should firmly retain their constitutional powers, for the good purpose mentioned.

We now proceed to a review of Lord John Russell's dispatch on this subject of responsibility, which we hope to find will be a more gentle, safe, though no less efficacious remedy for any political disorders, than the violent and hazardous one we have been discussing.

The following is a copy of this famous dispatch :
*Dispatch from Lord John Russell to the Right Hon.
 C. Poulett Thompson, Governor General, &c.*

DOWNING STREET, 14th Oct. 1839.

SIR,—It appears from Sir George Arthur's dispatch, that you may encounter much difficulty in subduing the excitement which prevails on the question of what is called "Responsible Government." I have to instruct you, however, to refuse any explanation which may be construed to imply an acquiescence in the petitions and addresses upon this subject. I cannot better commence this dispatch than by a reference to the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, of the 28th April and 9th May, in the year 1837.

2. The Assembly of Lower Canada, having repeatedly pressed this point, Her Majesty's confidential advisers at that period, thought it necessary not only to explain their views in the communications of the Secretary of State, but expressly called for the opinion of Parliament on the subject. The Crown and the two Houses of Lords and Commons having thus decisively pronounced a judgment upon the question, you will consider yourself precluded from entertaining any proposition on the subject.

3. It does not appear, indeed, that any very definite meaning is generally agreed upon, by those who call themselves the advocates of this principle; but its very vagueness is a source of delusion, and would prove the cause of embarrassment and danger.

4. The constitution of England, after long struggles and alternate success, has settled into a form of government, in which the prerogative of the Crown is undisputed, but is never exercised without advice. Hence the exercise only is questioned, and however the use of the authority may be condemned, the authority itself remains untouched.

5. This is the practical solution of a great problem, the result of a contest, which from 1640 to 1690 shook the monarchy, and disturbed the peace of the country.

6. But if we seek to apply such a practice to a colony, we shall at once find ourselves at fault. The power for which a minister is responsible in England, is not his own power, but the power of the Crown, of which he is for the time the organ. It is obvious that the executive councillor of a colony is in a situation totally different. The Governor, whom he serves, receives his orders from the Crown of England. But can the colonial council be the advisers of the Crown of England? Evidently not, for the Crown has other advisers, for the same functions, and with superior authority.

7. It may happen, therefore, that the Governor receives at one and the same time instructions from the Queen, and advice from his executive council, totally at variance with each other. If he is to obey his instructions from England, the parallel of constitutional responsibility entirely fails; if on the other hand, he is to follow the advice of his council, he is no longer a subordinate officer, but an independent sovereign.

8. There are some cases in which the force of these objections is so manifest, that those who at first made no distinction between the constitution of the United Kingdom and that of the colonies, admit their strength. I allude to the questions of foreign war, and international relations, whether of trade or diplomacy. It is now said, that internal government is alone intended.

9. But there are some cases of internal government, in which the honour of the Crown, or the faith of Parliament, or the safety of the state, are so seriously involved, that it would not be possible for Her Majesty to delegate her authority to a minister in a colony.

10. I will put, for illustration, some of the cases which have occurred in that very Province, where the petition for a responsible executive first arose—I mean Lower Canada.

11. During the time when a large majority of the Assembly of Lower Canada, followed M. Papineau as their leader, it was obviously the aim of that gentleman to discourage all who did their duty towards the Crown within the Province, and deter all who should resort to Canada with British habits and feelings from without. I need not say, that it would have been impossible for any minister to support, in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the measures a ministry headed by M. Papineau, would have imposed upon the Governor of Lower Canada;—British officers punished for doing their duty; British emigrants defrauded of their property; British merchants discouraged in their lawful pursuits,—would have loudly appealed to Parliament against the Canadian Ministry, and would have demanded protection.

12. Let us suppose the Assembly as then constituted, to have been sitting when Sir John Colborne suspended two of the Judges. Would any councillor, possessing the confidence of the Assembly, have made himself responsible for such an act? And yet the very safety of the Province depended on its adoption. Nay, the very orders of which your Excellency is yourself the bearer, respecting Messrs. Bedard and Panet, would never be adopted, or put in execution by a minister depending for existence on M. Papineau.

13. Nor can any one take upon himself to say, that such cases will not again occur. The principle once sanctioned, no one can say how soon its application might be dangerous, or even dishonourable, while all will agree that to recall the power thus conceded would be impossible.

14. While I thus see insuperable objections to the adoption of the principle as it has been stated, I see little or none to the practical views of the Colonial Government recommended by Lord Durham, as I understand them. The Queen's Government have no desire to thwart the representative assemblies of British North America in their measures of reform and improvement. They have no wish to make those Provinces the resource for patronage at home. They are earnestly intent on giving to the talent and character of leading persons in the Colonies, advantages similar to those which talent and character, employed in the public service, obtain in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty has no desire to maintain any system of policy among her North American subjects, which opinion condemns. In receiving the Queen's commands, therefore, to protest against any declaration at variance with the honour of the Crown, and the unity of the Empire, I am at the same time instructed to announce Her Majesty's gracious intention, to look to the affectionate attachment of her people in North America, as the best security for permanent dominion.

15. It is necessary for this purpose that no official misconduct should be screened by Her Majesty's representative in the Provinces; and that no private interests should be allowed to compete with the general good.

16. Your Excellency is fully in possession of the principles which have guided Her Majesty's advisers on this subject; and you must be aware that there is no surer way of earning the approbation of the Queen than by maintaining the harmony of the executive with the legislative authorities.

17. While I have thus cautioned you against any declaration from which dangerous consequences may hereafter flow, and instructed you as to the general line of your conduct, it may be said, that I have not drawn any specific line beyond which the power of the Governor on the one hand, and the privileges of the Assembly on the other, ought not to extend. But this must be the case in any mixed government. Every political constitution, in which different bodies share the supreme power, is only enabled to exist by the forbearance of those among whom this power is distributed. In this respect the example of England may well be imitated. The Sovereign using the prerogative of the Crown to the utmost extent, and the House of Commons exerting its power of the purse, to carry all its resolutions into immediate effect, would produce confusion in the country in less than a twelvemonth. So in a colony: the Governor thwarting every legitimate proposition of the Assembly; and the Assembly continually recurring to its power of refusing supplies, can but disturb all political relations, embarrass trade, and retard the prosperity of the people. Each must exercise a wise moderation. The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly, where the honour of the

Crown, or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned ; and the Assembly must be ready to modify some of its measures for the sake of harmony, and from a reverent attachment to the authority of Great Britain. I have, &c.

J. RUSSELL.

The Right Hon. C. Poulett Thompson, }
&c. &c. &c.

" There is perhaps, no greater instance of an erroneous idea being propagated among the public, than the one, that *unrestricted responsibility* of the Executive Council of this Province, to the Houses of Assembly, now exists in this Province. The gradually increasing circulation of this idea, resembles much the gradually increasing velocity of a falling weight, augmented by the height it falls from. So, because some of the ministers of the Sydenham Government, declared in the House of Assembly, that if they did not obtain their approbation or confidence in their general conduct, they would retire: because Sir Charles Bagot, by certain measures, previous to the meeting of the late House of Assembly, had lost the support of the Conservative party, was obliged to throw himself into the hands of the opposite one, and formed his Government mainly, from that party; it was immediately promulgated, that "Responsible Government," meaning entire responsibility to the House of Assembly, was to exist in the Province.

Now, the declaration of Lord Sydenham's ministers, could only have been made, in consequence of his (Lord Sydenham's) intention of exercising the right which Lord John Russell's dispatch gave him, to comply with the wishes of the House of Assembly, when he considered, that, as the dispatch says, "neither the honour of the Crown nor the interest of

the Empire were opposed to their wishes." So, Sir Charles Bagot, (although many of the first characters of the Province are of opinion, that neither the "honour of the Crown nor the interests of the Empire" were well supported by his compliance with the wishes of *his* house of Assembly ;) yet he, Sir Charles, probably thought, or was counselled, differently. There is no other subsequent dispatch, regulating the conduct of the Governor on the subject of responsibility ; and it is highly improbable, that any dispatch of the British Government *would* authorize any thing contrary to the "honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire."

We shall, therefore, narrowly examine the various parts of this dispatch, and endeavour to find out its true meaning, and the nature, degree, and limits of that responsibility it authorizes.

The first two paragraphs of this dispatch are as completely decisive as language can make them, that "Responsible Government" is not conceded to this Province, in the way it is practised in England ; namely, that when the ministers of the Crown are found no longer to possess a majority in the House of Commons, or as it is called, the confidence of that House, they are to retire from office. Now this is the very kind of responsibility which the petitions and addresses to the Home Government from this Province, have requested and sought for, for the internal Government of the Province. I refer the reader to these paragraphs, which he will find conclude with saying, "The Crown and the two Houses of Lords and Commons having thus decisively pronounced a judgment upon the question,

you will consider yourself precluded from entertaining any proposition on the subject."

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs are explanatory of the difference existing between Colonies and the Parent State, as it relates to the subject of responsibility.

The seventh paragraph strongly shews the impossibility of any fixed and invariable practice of responsibility being established in the Colonies. That the case referred to, of variance between instructions from the Crown, and advice to the Governor from his Executive Council, would likely very soon happen, if this entire responsibility were in practice, we may reasonably conclude, from the gradual effects, that I have above shewn, would ensue from that practice, on the representatives. The consequence would be, the Governor would be constrained to dismiss his Council, although possessing the confidence of the House of Assembly.

The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth paragraphs treat upon cases in point, relating to past events in this Eastern part of the Province, in confirmation of the contents of the seventh paragraph.

The thirteenth paragraph says: "Nor can any one take upon himself to say, that such cases will not again occur. The principle once sanctioned, (that is the entire responsible principle,) no one can say, how soon its application might be *dangerous*, or even dishonourable, while all will agree, that to recall the power thus conceded would be impossible."

There is not a doubt in my mind that such cases would soon occur, if the practice of entire and

absolute responsibility were established; and I trust to have shewn, in the foregoing pages, that in the course of successive Parliaments, it would become very dangerous, not only to the internal peace, but to the present relations of the Province with Great Britain. But, as to the last sentence of the paragraph, I do not at all agree with it. Errors are frequent in all human transactions, and political regulations are not exempt from them. "To man it belongs," says a great writer, "to correct his errors." To correct this, if the responsible principle had been conceded to the Province, could not be "impossible," if that be done, as soon as its dangerous effects appeared; and it would then be the duty of a protecting Government to retract it.

The fourteenth paragraph begins: "While I thus see *insuperable objections to the adoption of the principle*, (meaning responsible principle,) as it has been stated, I see little or none to the practical views of Colonial Government, recommended by Lord Durham, as I understand them." Vide 14th paragraph to the end of it.

There are, I believe, many persons in the Province, who have regarded, or so pretend, the reference in this paragraph to "Lord Durham's practical views of Colonial Government," as an acquiescence in his "responsibility;" but it is plain, Lord John Russell refers here, to his other practical views, respecting Government by the Departments, &c., for as I have shewn, all the former paragraphs of the dispatch, refuse all acquiescence in the responsible principle, therefore Lord John Russell must have understood him differently on that head. With

respect to the declarations contained in this paragraph, on the part of Her Majesty ; they are gracious, and I have no doubt, the practice of these declarations will be productive of the attachment of the people of British North America to Her Majesty, the honour of her Crown, and the unity of the Empire.

The fifteenth and sixteenth paragraphs must convince even the most ultra radical in the House, of the intention of Her Majesty, to preserve harmony and good Government in the Province.

The last paragraph. This finally discloses the true meaning and extent of the dispatch ; evidently, that it is not to give entire and unrestricted responsibility to the Houses of Assembly, as a general pledge of Government, but to modify its former practice. That whereas, formerly Governors may have thwarted the legitimate propositions of those Houses with too high a hand, they are now directed to "exercise a wise moderation," and not to "oppose the wishes of those Houses, except where the honour of the Crown and the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned."

The Houses of Assembly are also to use "a wise moderation, and to modify their measures, for the preservation of harmony," and thereby to avoid embarrassing the political relations, and retarding the prosperity of the people. In fine, the responsibility of the Government now given, is to be under the discretion of the Governor.

Having now analyzed this dispatch, I trust to have shewn, in my dissertation on the real causes of discontent in this country, and also in my observations on the

various paragraphs of the dispatch, that it contains "those limits to the practice of the responsible principle, which the constitutional security and the nature of circumstances in this Province require." It will be agreed by all prudent men, by all who love to see the peace, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Province secured, that, in contemplating the effects of so great a power in the Houses of Assembly, as *unrestricted* responsibility would give them, we must not limit our views of this power, to the *time present*. The representatives of the present House, and perhaps of some succeeding Houses of Assembly, may have good intentions; but we know the usual effects of power, and especially of popular power, and we know the baneful effects of the talents and activity of designing and ambitious men, when employed in agitating the minds of the people, to *obtain that power*. We must, therefore, in order to have a thorough view of the effects of this unrestricted responsibility, look into futurity. I trust to have shewn, as proposed, the wisdom of attending in this great question, "strictly to the nature of circumstances of this Province, in order to preserve its permanent peace and well-being." Now as the degree of responsibility, conferred by the dispatch of Lord John Russell, is perfectly competent to secure the above good effect, and will prevent the dangers of unrestricted responsibility; therefore, wisdom and moderation would lead us to be satisfied with it. At all events, the Union of the Provinces ought, and I trust will be, strenuously maintained. It is impossible the British population of Eastern Canada,

can return to the old state of things produced by the former Houses of Assembly. This Union was formed very soon after the late disturbances. The Province had hardly recovered a state of quietude. When the security of that quietude is established, it is probable that several provisions of the act may be relaxed. But, on the contrary, if the representative branch of the Legislature, instead of promoting that security, instead of advancing the great interests of the country, in regard to its agricultural and commercial improvement; if this branch involve itself too deeply, in pursuits incompatible with our relative situation with the Parent State, it is probable a revision and amendment of this act of Union may be made by the Imperial Parliament, in order to condense it into a form, that shall ensure more constitutional Legislation, and which shall not oppose the progress of the Province, in its industry, prosperity, and welfare. I say, if the necessity of such a change is forced on the Imperial Legislature, it is possible it may adopt it; but, as the British Government has now so abundantly shewn its wish to draw a veil over what has passed, and even to promote some who formerly opposed the laws, we have a right to expect its Legislative branches will cheerfully join issue with it, in advancing the great interests of the Province; and that under the able direction of the great and energetic character now at the head of the Government, and the blessing of Divine Providence, a happy era is going to arise out of the Union of the Canadas.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 47, line 32, for "Mr. Stanley in his," read "the."

Page 55, after line 9, read the following omitted paragraph:

"But indeed a power of responsibility has been given to the Province, more safe and of less evil consequence than in trusting that power to its representatives only. The people of every Colony have at this moment the power of calling the Governor to account by the right of the subject in every part of the British Dominions, to petition the Throne or the Imperial Parliament. We have even seen Governors recalled upon slight indications of unpopularity, and when, in the opinion of well informed men, their continuance in office would have been serviceable to the country. That the bulk of the people of the Provinces would not, *if left to their own uncontrolled feelings*, exert this right without good reason, I think, is highly probable, and coming from them, it is, I think, much less likely to arise from party spirit than if emanating from the Houses of Assembly."

Page 63, line, 4, for "the composition of the composition," read "the composition."

Page 75, line 23, for "between 5 and 600,000," read "near 500,000."

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